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VOL. XV.—New Series, No. 500.]

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, MAY 30, 1855.

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SIX LESSONS will be given by C. C. SPENCER, Esq., at the WEIGH-HOUSE CHAPEL, FISH-STREET-HILL, on TUESDAY EVENINGS, at Eight o'clock; commencing June 5. Tickets for the Course, One Shilling.

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German language taught by eminent professors.

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German Language taught by eminent Professors.

Rev. D. EVANS, Principal.

References to the Pupils' Parents.

SPECIAL APPEAL FOR FRANCE.

THE attention of the Committee of the

RELIGIOUS TRACT SOCIETY has been called to France, and the efforts commenced and in prospect for the diffusion of Divine truth in that country. Not a few communities of Pro- testants are animated with new spiritual life, and are exerting themselves to their utmost ability in diffusing a sanctified litera- ture through every part of their country; but the far larger pro- portion of their members being in humble life, their means are restricted, and they are compelled to look to Christian brethren in other lands for sympathy and aid. There is also a large demand for tracts for the supply of the army, both in France and the East.—But, at the present time, the claims of France possess a special character. The Industrial Exhibition at Paris will attract multitudes from the remotest provinces. Thousands from Garonne, Languedoc, Brittany, Normandy, the Alps, the Pyrenees, Algiers, and the French Colonies, will meet together, and who have never hitherto been brought into contact with a pure gospel. The Protestant community in that city con- template the most vigorous action on that occasion; but, from their circumstances, they feel wholly unable to meet the urgent requirements of the case. In their great need they have applied to the Committee of the Religious Tract Society to assist them with large pecuniary grants for that special object, as well as their general operations. While the Committee recognise the importance of the movement, and are prompted to afford the most effectual aid, they feel embarrassed, from the exhausted state of the Jubilee Fund (which was largely devoted to France), and from the inadequacy of their ordinary benevolent income, to meet such special claims. They therefore feel justified in making an appeal to those friends who have generously responded to former calls for help for other quarters of the world, in the confidence that they will unite with them in cementing this peaceful alliance between the two countries, and in extending the common faith of Evangelical Protestantism.—The Committee have already to thank several friends for spontaneous donations (one of 50l., one of 20l., and another of 5l.) for this object, and they respectfully and earnestly request further contributions, to enable them to give expression to their brethren in France of a cordial union with them in their works of faith and labours of love.

DONATIONS will be thankfully received by Mr. William Tarn, 56, Paternoster-row, to whom Post-office orders may be addressed; and at the Western Depository, 164, Piccadilly.

REMOVAL.—THE BEST TEETH.—Mr.

EDWARD MILES, Jun., has REMOVED to 14, BED- FORD-SQUARE. The practical application of every improve- ment in Dental Surgery for the alleviation of pain and suffering, and the use of every material of the first quality and construction in forming Sets of Teeth, is secured in the system he has pursued for many years. At home daily from Ten till Four. 14, Bed- ford-square.

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NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN, that the usual QUARTERLY MEETING of the above Society will be held on TUESDAY, the 6th day of June next, at the FREEMASONS' HALL, GREAT QUEEN-STREET, LINCOLN'S-INN-FIELDS, in the County of Middlesex, at Half-past Six o'clock in the Evening, for the purpose of transacting the ordinary business of the Society.

NOTICE IS HEREBY FURTHER GIVEN, that in pursuance of a requisition, duly signed, and presented to the Executive Committee of the above Society, a GENERAL MEETING of the Members thereof will be held on the same day, at the same place, at Seven o'clock in the Evening, to consider and determine on certain proposed alterations in, and additions to, the Rules of the Society.

By order of the Committee, THOMAS SHERWOOD SMITH, Secretary. 17, Adam-street, Adelphi, London, May 23, 1855.

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16, 22, 11, &c. have already been paid as compensation for Fatal and other Railway Accidents, by the

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Watches of the Horizontal make, jewelled in four holes, main winding power, 1st size.	£ s. d. 14 10 0	£ s. d. 2 18 0
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Ditto with the flat, fashionable style, with the most highly finished movements, jewelled in ten extra holes, 3rd size.	14 10 0	5 18 0

A written warranty for accurate performance is given with every watch, and a twelvemonth's trial allowed. A very extensive and splendid assortment of fine gold neck-chains, charged according to the weight of sovereigns.

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BY HER MAJESTY'S ROYAL LETTERS

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THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION.

VOL. XV.—NEW SERIES, No. 500.]

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Ecclesiastical Affairs.

A COLONIAL APPEAL TO ENGLISH VOLUNTARIES.

DISCUSSIONS on colonial questions being proverbially unacceptable to the British Parliament, it is a happy circumstance that the colonies have of late thriven without the intervention of our legislators. We have continued to glory in our dependencies, but they have occasioned us less than usual embarrassment and anxiety. The Colonial Minister and his staff have probably worked as in days of yore; but they have had the bliss of working without being either badgered at home, or threatened from the antipodes. But when every other department of Government has to bear an unlooked-for strain, the Colonial Office cannot expect immunity from trial; so, no sooner is our lost Lord John Russell restored to us from Vienna, than he has to brace up his nerves for a combat of another kind in his own departmental province. Three bills—the Victoria Government Bill, the New South Wales Government Bill, the Waste Lands (Australia) Act Repeal Bill, are no sooner laid on the table of the House of Commons, than it is announced that they are to be strenuously opposed by Mr. Lowe, the *de facto* member for Australia—who, Lord John fears, "knows too much" of the subject not to be a formidable foe; and who, we suspect, had these measures in view when, on the occasion of the last ministerial shake-up, he declined to continue in office.

We do not propose here to state the objections of a general kind to be urged against these bills. It is to the first only—the Victoria Government Bill—and to a single clause of it, that we now ask attention. In 1850, it will be remembered, the Imperial Parliament passed an important act empowering the Australian Colonies to frame new constitutions on self-governing principles. The local Legislatures have accepted the boon, and adopted measures which now await the Royal assent. But they having outstepped their powers in respect to certain enactments, and the assent of the Crown being contingent on the sanction of Parliament, a bill has been brought in to enable Her Majesty to assent to the Colonial Bill with certain amendments. Here, however, is a clause (54th) which, as yet, it is not proposed to amend:—

For the advancement of the Christian religion in Victoria, the sum of 50,000*l.* shall be reserved on the eighth part of the said schedule to promote the erection of buildings for public worship and the maintenance of ministers of religion; and such sums shall be apportioned to each denomination according to the relative proportion of the members of such denomination by the last Census; every such apportionment to be made under regulations to be framed by the Governor and Executive Council, and submitted to both the Legislative Houses: Provided, that no moneys exceeding in the aggregate the sum of 25,000*l.* shall be issued in any one year in aid of the stipends of ministers of religion.

Now, as we have been wont to congratulate Volunteers at home on the growing spirit of resistance to State-grants manifested in the colonies, we may be asked to reconcile our statements on the point with the present clause, and we may be asked, too, by Colonial Reformers, on

what ground we can justify interference with the exercise of the self-governing powers of our colonial fellow-subjects. A conclusive answer can be given to both these queries.

This new Constitution is the handiwork, not of a legislative body, popularly elected under the imperial act which was received with "universal gratitude and joy;" but of the old Legislative Council, which is largely composed of nominees and irresponsible members. It was the Parliament of Gattion and Old Sarum trying to steal a march on its prospective and more liberally-appointed successor. It was political exclusiveness, decrepit and dying, doing its best to mortgage and involve the popular estate. Sound policy and constitutional principle alike required that the new Constitution should have emanated from a Legislature composed of men chosen by the suffrages of their fellow-colonists, and animated by feelings in harmony with the change which had invested them with power. And most of all was it to be desired, that so grave and delicate a point as the future relationship of the State to religious bodies should be delegated to those who would best represent the strong and conflicting feelings of the community on the subject.

It is an aggravation of this injustice that it has been inflicted in the face of "public opinion, legitimately, emphatically, and repeatedly expressed." The Colonial Government, it appears, hypocritically—the issue justifies the epithet—sought for a free expression of opinion on the proposed Constitution, meekly expressing a desire for guidance in laying a foundation for the prosperous government of the colony. Possibly they calculated on the apathy represented to exist in respect to political matters; but be that as it may, it actually happened that the appeal to public opinion elicited no response, save in respect to this particular clause increasing and perpetuating ecclesiastical grants. That was, with remarkable unanimity, petitioned against and denounced at meetings composed of men of all denominations; while not a meeting was held, nor a petition presented in support of the clause. Yet these demonstrations were altogether unheeded by these mock tribunes of the people, some of whom, as we have seen, were defiant enough to seek to shut the door against all future remonstrance or redress, by proposing that the clause should not be repealed at a future time without the sanction of two-thirds of the Council! Is it to be wondered at that, under such circumstances, the colonists should make their appeal to the Home Government, and to English Volunteers, to interpose between them and the Governors, who have ignored their earnestly-expressed wishes on so vitally important a topic? And is it not a significant fact for the Colonial Minister, that 13,000 persons should have joined in memorialising the Queen to withhold her sanction from this section of the act?

We have already quoted from this weighty document, but cannot forbear extracting a passage, which indicates the strength and intensity of feeling with which the enactment in question is regarded:—

The clause is objected to, not only by those committees who are opposed on principle to all State endowments of religion whatever, but by large numbers even in those bodies that are in actual receipt of State aid. A vast majority of the Wesleyans are opposed to all State grants, and no inconsiderable proportion of the Episcopalians, with their truly estimable bishop at their head, are strongly opposed to the indiscriminate endowment which the clause contemplates, and are prepared to encounter all the difficulties attending the immediate withdrawal of all assistance from the State rather than be parties to the fearful guilt which they believe the State is contracting. Of the Presbyterian persuasion, more than two-thirds are opposed to the clause; and in the Roman Catholic communion the opposition has many that sympathise with it; for it is asserted by leading men of that communion, that the grant is valued more on account of the political equality which it is considered to impart, than to any amount of emolument which it affords; forgetting, however, that were the grant entirely abolished, the equality of the different sects, in a civil point of view, would be necessarily perfect and permanent. In short, if all who

are opposed to the clause on the ground of indiscriminate endowment of truth and error which it contemplates are taken into account, with the large and increasing section who are opposed to all State endowments whatever, as being unscriptural, unnecessary, impolitic, and unjust, the introduction of such a clause will be found to be opposed to the wishes of a decided majority of the colonists.

We can add nothing to increase the force of this statement, but we suggest that when it is moved, as it will be, that this clause be expunged, the vote of every Liberal member who, irrespective of his views in relation to a Church Establishment, has professed hostility to the increase and multiplication of ecclesiastical grants, should be insisted upon as rigorously as though the proposal had reference to the mother country. Here, at least, is an occasion when opposition to State-Churchism in the abstract may take a concrete shape without difficulty or doubt, for so far from the excision of the clause being likely to be regarded as an unjustifiable interference with colonial rights, the mail which carries out intelligence of the fact will gladden the hearts of the colonists, and disappoint only the official oligarchy whose career is about to be rightfully terminated.

We have left ourselves but too little space to devote to another measure, for which the inhabitants of Victoria have also to thank the expiring council—we refer to an act passed in November last, "to enable the bishop, clergy, and laity of the United Church of England and Ireland in Victoria, to provide for the regulation of the affairs of the said Church." This act empowers any bishop of that Church in Victoria "to convene an assembly of the licensed clergy and laity," every act of such assembly, including "all advowson and right of patronage," being binding on the members of that Church. The assembly may also establish a commission for the trial of ecclesiastical offences, with powers of suspension and deprivation. It further provides for the constitution and summoning of the assemblies, as also for the establishment of provincial assemblies, and in fact, for the existence of two Houses of Convocation, and for the regulation of their proceedings.

This act explains why we have not had a repetition of the effort to pass a Colonial Clergy Disabilities Bill. The promoters of that measure have abandoned the attempt to satisfy our House of Commons that it is either requisite or safe. They have sent it over to Victoria, and there it has been so expanded and elaborated, as to make it even clearer now than it was last session, that the change sought for is fraught with danger. There, we had a general and misty outline—here the details have been filled in; and what was before insidious has become obviously and certainly mischievous. If the Church of England be not established in the colony, on what pretence can the Colonial Legislature give it a corporate existence and legislative functions, and frame regulations for the management of its affairs? It receives State grants, but so do other religious bodies, with whose internal management the Legislature would not think of meddling. Either Episcopalians in Victoria have the same liberty to manage their affairs as the other denominations, or they have not. If they possess it, then such an act is superfluous—that is, for any honest purpose. If, on the other hand, they are fettered, and cannot exercise synodical rights, whence arises the disability? Not from any colonial enactment, but simply from the circumstance that they are members of the Church which is established at home, and, in virtue of such affiliation, are subject to the restrictions to which the members of that Church are required to submit. Their bishops are appointed by the Crown, and this very act provides that no regulation of any assembly shall affect any right of appeal to the Queen, as the head of the Church, unless it be sanctioned (not by the Crown) by the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the metropolitan of the province, and that nothing shall be done which is at variance with the standards, oaths, and declarations of the Church. The claim set up, therefore, is for the granting to a portion of the Esta-

blished Church happening to be located in the colonies, what would not be awarded to its members generally. It is a daring attempt to retain the *status and prestige* of an Establishment without the irksomeness of the Royal Supremacy and the other bonds which gail the necks of High Churchmen in England. It is more; for in this Church Constitution there are added to territorial bishops provisions for the parochial system, and the machinery of an Establishment *in posse*. Given a subservient Legislature and an unsuspecting people, and the creation of a dominant religious party, as existing in the mother country, will be an easy step; while the safeguards which mitigate the evil here will there be altogether wanting. This act now awaits the Royal assent, but if those who successfully opposed the Clergy Disabilities Bill are vigilant and resolute, the Minister will scarcely place it before his Royal Mistress for her sanction. We are glad to learn that the Liberation Society and the Dissenting deputies are jointly arranging for a deputation to wait on Lord John Russell, next week, to call his attention to the ecclesiastical aspect of these colonial bills, and we beg their supporters throughout the country to second their efforts to save the colonists from the ecclesiastical danger with which they are now threatened.

THE CHURCH-RATE ABOLITION BILL.

The House of Commons is to go into committee on this measure on Friday, the 9th June, and, as Mr. Follett, M.P., has given notice that he will move that the bill be committed that day six months, it is evident that it is to be opposed with unrelenting hostility at every stage. Its supporters should therefore take care that their friends in Parliament exercise vigilance, and, especially, that those Liberal members who were absent on the second reading should record their votes on the subsequent stages of the bill. Although it is likely that the Premier will not persist in his opposition, it is desirable that further efforts should yet be made, that increasing majorities may lead the House of Lords to the conclusion that the Church-rate question can be settled in no other way. The following is a list of Liberal members who voted with Sir William Clay last session, but, from various causes, were absent on the 16th ult.:

Mr. C. Bailey.	Hon. T. Moyn.
Mr. John Ball.	Mr. G. F. Muntz.
Mr. J. F. B. Blackett.	Sir T. O'Brien.
Mr. L. H. Bland.	Mr. C. O'Brien.
Hon. H. Brand.	Mr. John O'Connell.
Mr. Humphrey Brown.	Mr. W. Finney.
Mr. John Emonds.	Hon. A. Ponsonby.
Mr. Wm. Ewart.	Sir J. E. Ramsden.
Mr. T. E. Headlam.	Mr. J. L. Ricardo.
Mr. C. Hindley.	Mr. H. Rich.
Mr. J. Locke.	Mr. J. A. Roebuck.
Mr. F. Lucas.	Mr. F. Seully.
Mr. J. McCann.	Mr. H. D. Seymour.
Mr. F. Mahon.	Mr. E. Warner.
Viscount Monck.	Mr. W. H. Wickham.

CHURCH-RATE PETITIONS FOR THE WEEK.

TUESDAY.—From Swansea (two), Llanrhidian, Llanyfellaich, Maesbrook, Bristol, Roehdale, Alton, Preston, Oswestry (two), Barley, Llanfaircaereinion, Boston, and Melind.

THURSDAY.—From Hammersmith (two), Dover, and Putney and Fulham.

FRIDAY.—From Buntingford, Tisbury, Stepney, and Garway.

OUR CHURCH-RATE RECORD.

BUCKINGHAM.—At a vestry convened on the 24th instant to levy a Church-rate, the show of hands having been declared to be in favour of the rate, a poll was demanded; which closed, as agreed, at 3 P.M., on the 25th, when it was ascertained that eighty-three persons had polled 187 votes for the rate, and that seventy-nine had polled 83 against it. This is the first time that this abominable impost has been so extensively opposed here; but during the past year, several persons have been summoned to appear before the magistrates, and one, Mr. H. Holland, suffered the police, for the non-payment of 7s., to seize nine pairs of shoes, valued at 4l. 10s., which were sold in the market-place, amidst much uproar and disapprobation.

CAMBRIDGE.—At a vestry meeting of the parish of St. Giles in this borough, held on Thursday, the proposal for a church-rate was met by the following amendments:—That inasmuch as a bill has been introduced into the House of Commons by Sir William Clay, entitled a Bill for the Abolition of Church-rates, it is the opinion of this meeting that it would be inexpedient to proceed to the making a church-rate at the present time, but adjourns the vestry until August, 1855, when the fate of the bill now before Parliament will be decided. On a show of hands, the amendment was carried by fifteen to four. The churchwardens declining to demand a poll, the meeting separated.

IPSWICH.—SEIZING FOR CHURCH-RATES WITHOUT A WARRANT.—On the 2nd inst. our Church-rate Record contained a notice (extracted from the *Suffolk Chronicle*) of an excessive seizure for non-payment of church-rates made on the goods of Mr. Henry Wallis, of Ipswich, a member of the Society of Friends. By a subsequent number of the same paper, it appears that the distraint was not only most excessive in amount, but was made without any legal authority

whatever. Mr. Eisdell, solicitor, attended before the Ipswich magistrates to call their attention to the circumstances attending this distress, and stated that during the absence of Mr. Wallis, Poole, the parish constable, entered his residence, and took thence the goods enumerated in our former notice. The rate was 10s. 6d., and the lowest estimate of the goods 5l. 18s. The strangest part of the case, however, was, that no warrant for this distress had ever been issued or applied for. Poole was assisted by Mr. Roe, a broker living in the thoroughfare of Ipswich, who apparently acted as valuer, although he was not licensed, and Poole was heard to say to him, "You know you'll have some of these goods." The goods were removed to a public-house for sale, and Mr. Wallis, with great propriety, sent a caution that the sale must be conducted in a legal manner. This put the parties on their guard, and conscious that they had acted without authority, they returned the whole of the goods to Mr. Wallis's house. Mr. Eisdell stated that, though the goods had been returned, it did not appear right to allow such illegal proceedings to pass unnoticed. Mr. Wallis was not disposed to bring an action of trespass against the parties, but believed that the expression of the opinion of the bench would prevent the recurrence of such irregularity for the future. The Mayor said, it was certainly far from being the most pleasant part of their duties to enforce the payment of church-rates from those who conscientiously objected to pay them. It was desirable that the utmost caution and tenderness should be exercised towards parties in that position. He confessed he looked upon the present as a monstrous case of excessive distress and as a most disgraceful proceeding on the part of the officers. His brother magistrates quite concurred in this view. It was not the first time he had had to express his opinion upon the mode of levying distress upon the goods of members of the Society of Friends: he hoped it would be the last. The churchwardens disclaimed participation in the affair, and the constable endeavoured to excuse himself by stating that he mistook an order for payment placed in his hands for service for a warrant of distress.

HINCKLEY.—At a vestry meeting held in this town, a few days since, a motion that the accounts presented be considered unsatisfactory was carried by 34 to 14. A proposition for a rate of 2½d. in the pound was rejected by 40 to 19. A poll was demanded, which was duly opened at the Town Hall, but the chairman, the Rev. J. Mackie, announced that it would not be proceeded with.

The Warrington Board of Guardians have refused to pay the church-rate levied on the workhouse, on the plea that church-rates are unjust.

THE CONGREGATIONALISTS OF AUSTRALIA.

A meeting of ministers and delegates of the Congregational Body in the colonies of Victoria, New South Wales, South Australia, and Van Diemen's Land, to take into consideration various matters relating to the welfare of the denomination, was held in the Rev. A. Morison's chapel, Melbourne, on Tuesday, February 20th, and following days.

The Rev. T. Q. Stow, of Adelaide, was called to preside over the deliberations of the Conference. The proceedings were commenced by singing a hymn, and prayer by the Rev. A. Morison, of Melbourne. The Rev. C. Price, of Launceston, was chosen Secretary to the Conference, and the Rev. Messrs. Poore, Landells, and Slatyer, with J. Fairfax, Esq., were appointed the Executive Committee.

After receiving the names of ministers and delegates, the CHAIRMAN delivered an address on "Congregationalism in the Colonies." This address was listened to with deep attention and universal satisfaction. A resolution was then adopted thanking the Chairman for his address, and declaring the attachment of the assembly to the fundamental principles of Congregational independency. It was also resolved to hold periodical conferences, the next to be held in the summer of 1856, in Sydney. The Rev. M. H. Beecher and Thomas Charles, Esq., were introduced as a deputation from the British and Foreign Bible Society; a resolution was adopted on the subject. The Rev. R. FLETCHER then brought forward, according to previous appointment, the subject of "Collegiate Education for Ministers of the Gospel." After a discussion of some length, it was resolved unanimously, on the motion of JOHN FAIRFAX, Esq., seconded by H. HOPKINS, Esq.,—

That, in the judgment of this assembly, the ministry of the Gospel should be sustained by men of piety, intelligence, and mental culture; that to secure this object and to provide an adequate supply of evangelists and pastors for these colonies, it is essentially necessary that steps be taken to found a theological institution for the education of godly youth who propose to devote themselves to the ministry, and that a committee be appointed to consider the whole subject.

A committee was then appointed to carry into effect this resolution.

The subject of Lay Agency was also brought forward and discussed at length; the great need of it—its utility—the amount and quality of the materials existing for it—the best mode of developing and most effectually employing such agency, were all considered, and the discussion ended with a resolution appointing a committee to canvass the whole subject more thoroughly, and to furnish suggestions relating to it to the Congregational Unions in the various colonies.

At the request of the Chairman, Mr. Fairfax gave an account of the system of education as supported by Government in New South Wales; the Rev. C. Price, of Launceston, gave a similar account of the system in use in Tasmania; the chairman described the South Australian system, and the Rev. A. Morison that in use in Victoria. The various anomalies and peculiarities of these systems were pointed out and commented on, and the relation of the whole question

to the action of Congregational Churches was considered, but no resolution was come to on the subject.

The J. L. POORE, brought forward the subject of Finance in its bearing upon the maintenance of ministers, annuities for them when superannuated, and a provision for their widows and orphans. The discussion ended in the adoption of a resolution appointing two persons in each colony to consider the subject.

It was announced to the meeting that a letter had just been received from the Rev. T. James, Secretary to the Colonial Missionary Society, London, stating that the society had sent forth two ministers for these colonies, the Rev. S. C. Kent for New South Wales (arrived by the Pacific), and the Rev. H. Thomas, B.A., for Victoria, the latter gentleman being now on his voyage; and also that the society was making an effort to raise funds to dispatch an additional number of missionaries.

The Rev. R. FLETCHER then introduced the subject of Government grants to religion. In the course of his address, he stated that he had received by the Pacific mail a letter from a member of the British Parliament, informing him that the Dissenting deputies of London, and a number of members of the House of Commons, were in communication with Sir George Grey on the subject of the new constitution for Victoria, with a view to securing the disallowance of the clause providing 50,000l. per annum for the support of religion. He stated that he had learnt from the Colonial Office that the colonists had exceeded their powers in relation to the New Constitution Bill. Mr. Fletcher proposed to the Conference the following resolution, which was seconded by the Rev. R. M. Newland, of South Australia, and supported by John Fairfax, Esq., of Sydney—

That this Conference, commenced at a time when new and permanent constitutions for the different Australian colonies are about to come into operation, and when free scope will be afforded for the action of the public mind upon the affairs of Government and legislation, deems it important to give distinct and emphatic avowal of its conviction upon "the relation of the State to religion." It is the opinion of this Conference that it is not the province of Government to do more for religion than to throw around its adherents, in common with the whole community, the protection of law; and that all interference in so sacred and so spiritual a department in the way of legislation, permanent endowment, periodical or occasional grants of money, or gifts of land, is contrary to sound policy, repugnant to the principles of the New Testament, and injurious to that cause it professes to aid.

This Conference would further give prominent expression to the fact that voluntarism in religion, as opposed to State interference to the full extent expressed in this resolution, is an essential and fundamental principle of Congregational independency, as understood and practised by the Congregationalists of the British Empire, both in the parent land and all its colonial dependencies. It is further the opinion of this Conference that, as the errors committed by former generations in the different nations of Europe on the subject of State support of religion, have been the prolific sources of heartburning and dissensions among fellow-citizens, and of unspeakable injury to religion itself; and, as the progress of enlightenment in Europe is at the moment strong in the direction of correcting and even eradicating these fatal errors, it is in the highest degree inexpedient and impolitic to transplant into new communities in this hemisphere obsolete and worn-out principles and usages whose only influence can be to prolong unnecessary agitation and to impede and embarrass sound legislation.

This resolution was carried unanimously.

The thanks of the meeting were then cordially voted to the Rev. T. Q. Stow, for his able and admirable conduct in the chair, to the Rev. C. Price, for his efficient services as secretary; to the gentlemen of the Executive Committee, and other parties who had contributed to the comfort and successful issue of the meetings, when, a closing prayer having been offered by Rev. A. Morison, the Chairman pronounced the Conference to be dissolved.

BAPTISMAL FEES.—The Archdeacon of Northumberland has recommended to his clergy the immediate disuse of fees for baptism, "being persuaded that the Church expected and required them freely to administer not only the life-strengthening sacrament, but also the life-giving, the regenerating sacrament."—*Carlisle Patriot*.

BURIAL BOARD PROCEEDINGS AT COGGESHALL.—The burial grounds in the town of Coggeshall (says a correspondent) were ordered by the Government authorities to be closed in August next; in consequence, several meetings were held in vestry to consider the best course to be adopted. It was finally moved, "That the Burials Act be adopted." This was carried, and the board appointed, consisting of the Vicar, as chairman, with four Dissenters, and four Churchmen. This was proposed by the Dissenters, who manifested a fair and liberal spirit. Various tenders were received by the board, offering land for the cemetery, one of which was from one of its members, offering Church Field, immediately joining the Old Churchyard, he also taking his place as usual on the board, and voting on the question—which was carried by a majority of one—though an interested party. A vestry meeting was called for Thursday last, when, after some discussion, it was moved, "That the vestry do approve of the Burial Board contracting for and purchasing part of Church Field." An amendment was moved, objecting, on the ground of expense, and that the cemetery should be further out of town. This amendment, the chairman (the Vicar) refused to put to the meeting; and here it was that he acted in the most disgraceful manner, refusing to allow the Nonconformists to address the meeting, except in that particular manner suited to his own views. This proceeding elicited loud and just indignation, while cries of "Shame" resounded on all sides. A show of hands was taken, when the chairman stated the numbers to be equal, himself voting and also giving the casting vote. A poll was demanded, when voters were brought, some of them, a distance of upwards of seven miles by the Church party. The result of the poll was—126 for the motion, and 79 against. Of the majority thirteen were non-residents, having a plurality of votes. The fall of Church Field is such that its draining flows towards the Old Churchyard adjoining, which is drained by the

common sewers passing through the heart of the town, causing at times an unsufferable stench, which the Vicar and his party are endeavouring to increase by the extension of a pre-existing nuisance, at the risk of the health and even lives of the inhabitants.

NEW BISHOPRIC FOR BORNEO.—A new see for Borneo has been constructed, and the Rev. Dr. Francis T. M'Dougal, who has been for some time the chief missionary in the island, has been appointed the first Bishop, with the title of "the Bishop of Labuan," and will be consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury in the course of a few days. There will then be thirty colonial bishops in connexion with the Established Church of England.

THE PARISH CHURCH OF BRAINTREE.—The result of the many years' contest touching Church-rates is, that the fine old church at Baintree is in a most dilapidated state. It is stated that the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and the Diocesan, have warmly interested themselves on the Voluntary principle, to aid in effecting a restoration of the fabric. A public meeting was convened for the 24th inst., on which occasion a Dissenter (an Independent) subscribed 100*l*. It is expected that the restoration will cost 4,000*l*.

THE LIBERATION OF RELIGION SOCIETY.—The committee are, we understand, arranging for the usual summer tours; the secretary this week visiting Spalding, Gainsborough, Lincoln, and Louth, and, in company with Dr. Foster, Baintree next week. Mr. Pryce is now in Kent, and will, in the next and following week, visit Stockport, Burslem, Hanley, Shrewsbury, Chester, Oswestry, Llangollen, Welling-ton, Bridgnorth, Dudley, and West Bromwich.

Religious Intelligence.

CONGREGATIONAL WORSHIP IN PARIS.—It will be seen by an advertisement elsewhere, that it is proposed to establish Congregational worship in the city of Paris. The small French chapel, Rue du Faubourg St. Honoré, occupied by the Rev. Fred. Monod, on Sabbath evenings for exposition, has been temporarily engaged by the Rev. John Shedlock, M.A., of Boulogne, for the purpose of English worship on Sabbath morning and afternoon. The services will be conducted by Mr. Shedlock, and by other English-speaking ministers, during their stay in Paris. There are multitudes of English residing in Paris, for whom such worship is desirable; and during the Universal Exhibition doubtless many British and American Nonconformists will be attracted to the gay capital, and who will be glad to avail themselves of the opportunity of blending their prayers and praises together in the House of the Lord. At its recent meeting, the Assembly of the Union gave its cordial sanction to this special effort to establish Congregational worship in Paris, in the hope that it may eventually lead to the formation of an English Independent Church among the Parisians. As considerable expense will be incurred, subscriptions will be thankfully received. Joshua Wilson and James Spicer, Esqs., have consented to act as treasurers, and will be happy to obtain the generous co-operation of the liberal and wealthy. Several ministers who intend going to Paris, during the summer, have kindly offered their services, and will officiate in the chapel. Their names, and the times of preaching, will be announced in Paris by bills, and in *Galignani's* English paper. This movement is hailed with satisfaction by the pastors in Paris belonging to "the Union of the Evangelical Churches in France." The prospect of a permanent English Church is to them extremely gratifying, as it will bring them into closer fellowship with their brethren in England, and may be the means of extending the cause of Evangelical Protestantism in their native land.

ENGLISH CONGREGATIONAL CHAPEL-BUILDING SOCIETY.—The second annual meeting of the members and friends of the above society was held at the Congregational Library, Blomfield-street, London, on Thursday evening, the 10th inst. Tea was provided at five P.M. The chair was taken by Frank Crossley, Esq., M.P., soon after half-past five. The Rev. J. C. Gallaway, A.M., then read a report of the proceedings of the society during the past year. It appeared from the report, that the committee had obtained numerous sets of plans of chapels, had adopted a satisfactory form of trust-deed, and were preparing a manual of practical hints on all points connected with chapel-building. It gave a specific account of the origin and progress of no less than thirty-two chapel cases which the committee had undertaken to assist. Most of the chapels in aid of which the definite assistance of the society was thus pledged, were either opened or in course of erection. The remainder were to be commenced in the course of the present year. The sittings in these chapels amounted altogether to 19,600—the grants to 7,795*l*. The income during the first year was 2,700*l*. During the second (inclusive of the balance of the previous year), it has exceeded 5,300*l*. The meeting was afterwards addressed by the Rev. T. James, Apsley Pellatt, Esq., M.P., the Rev. Dr. Campbell, the Rev. Newman Hall, Edward Swaine, Esq., the Revs. J. Kelly, J. Viney, T. Tomkins, C. Dukes, and M. Davies. In the course of the meeting, the Secretary moved, and Mr. Hopkins seconded, a slight addition to one of the rules of the society, which was agreed to. The addition allows the committee, in certain cases, to extend pecuniary help in the building of school houses, if used as preaching stations, preparatory to the erection of chapels.

GRAYS, ESSEX.—A meeting of the Congregational Church and friends of this place was held on the 17th inst. in the spacious Assembly Rooms, for the purpose of raising a fund for the erection of a neat and commodious place of worship in this destitute locality.

About 140 sat down to tea; after which, a public meeting took place, when the Rev. J. B. Butcher, of Northfleet, was unanimously called to the chair. A brief statement of the rise and progress of the Dissenting interest was then laid before the meeting; after which, very able addresses were delivered by the Revs. J. Morrison, of South Ockendon; J. B. Talbot, of London; G. Garner, of Leytonstone; also by Messrs. Hugh, Elvin, Newton, and Willoughby, &c. During the meeting voluntary subscriptions and names were received to the amount of 50*l*; also a piece of freehold land secured and presented through the benevolence of two of the friends.

HARWICH.—The Churches lately assembling at Bathside Chapel, and Providence Chapel, Church-lane, have been reunited; the advice and co-operation of the neighbouring ministers and others having been previously sought.

HOOK NORTON, OXON.—A series of services of a very interesting character have been held during the past week in recognition of the Rev. W. Maisey as pastor of the Baptist Church. On Sunday, the 20th, two sermons were preached by the Rev. J. Branch, of London; on Monday, the Rev. James Smith, of Cheltenham, preached; on Tuesday morning, a public prayer meeting was held, at half-past ten o'clock, the charge was delivered to the pastor by the Rev. J. Branch; in the afternoon, a public meeting was held, and addresses delivered by the Revs. J. Crickett, Adderbury; T. Bumpus, Stratford-on-Avon; M. Philipin, Alcester; G. Robson, Shipston-on-Stour; J. Morris, Chipping Norton; Berry, Long Compton; Messrs. Stephenson and Moore, Stratford-on-Avon; and C. Warrington, Evesham; after which, about 300 persons partook of tea together, and in the evening, the Rev. J. Smith preached to the Church and congregation. The chapel was crowded throughout the day, the services were deeply interesting, and the new pastor has entered on his duties with every prospect of success.

OLD MEETING HOUSE, SCARBOROUGH.—The new organ, erected by Messrs. Forster and Andrews, of Hull, in this place of worship, was opened on May 11th, when addresses were delivered by the Rev. B. Evans, R. Balgarnie, D. Adams, E. Wright, S. Nicklin, and B. Backhouse (pastor). Sermons also were preached, on the following Lord's-day, in aid of the fund for the improvement of the chapel, by Mr. Backhouse—in the morning, "On the characteristics of acceptable worship;" in the afternoon, "On the uses and abuses of music in the service of the sanctuary;" and in the evening, by Mr. Evans. The Rev. J. A. James had kindly preached for the same object some months previously.

OUTLON, NORFOLK.—On Wednesday, May 23, 1855, the Rev. E. Jeffery, late of Emsworth, Hants, was publicly recognised as the pastor of the church and congregation worshipping in the Outlon Meeting-house, Norfolk. The services, which were of a very interesting character, and were also numerously attended, commenced in the afternoon with reading the Scriptures and prayer by the Rev. C. T. Koen, of Aylsham. The introductory discourse was delivered by the Rev. J. J. Kempster, of Norwich. The Rev. R. Drane, of Guestwich, proposed the questions; the Rev. J. Browne, of North Walsham, offered the designation prayer; the Rev. J. Alexander, of Norwich, addressed the pastor in an excellent discourse; and the Rev. J. Cozens, of Norwich, offered the concluding prayer. In the evening, the Rev. W. A. Courtenay, of North Walsham, read the Scriptures and prayed; and the Rev. J. S. Russell, M.A., of Yarmouth, preached an excellent sermon to the people. The Revs. R. Loxton, of South Creake, and W. Hopkins, of Aylsham, also took part in the services of the day. Several other ministers also were present on the occasion.

Correspondence.

GORHAM COLLEGE, NOVA SCOTIA.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—Will you kindly permit me, through the medium of your journal, to thank those numerous friends in Scotland and England who have, in donations of cash or otherwise, aided me in my efforts to obtain means to restore from the ravages of fire Gorham College, Liverpool, Nova Scotia? It is matter of great satisfaction to my own mind to have found so many friends in Britain willing and prompt to assist movements in the British colonies that are intended and calculated to aid in the development of their religious life. I most sincerely thank those ministerial and other brethren who have given me opportunity to plead, and who have heard the case of our colonies of British North America. The fact that the sum of one thousand pounds has been subscribed in cash and goods for rebuilding and furnishing the College by friends in England, proves that many have been interested in our appeals, and have generously contributed in aid of our Mission.

My esteemed colleague, the Rev. George Cornish, B.A., and myself, will exert ourselves to carry out the just wishes of those best friends of the institution with which we have the honour to be connected.

Kind friends, farewell! When these brief lines meet your eyes, although we shall be far away on the waters of the Atlantic, be assured we shall retain deep impressions of your generous sympathy. May Heaven reward your kindness! With many thanks,

I remain, yours very truly,
FREDERICK TOMKINS, M.A.,
Principal of Gorham College, Liverpool,
Nova Scotia.

On board the Africa, in the Mersey,
May 26, 1855.

It is estimated that the Government have in the army, navy, church, and colonial service, no less than 60,000 places to give away.

Anniversary Meetings.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The sixteenth annual meeting of this society was held on Friday evening week, at Crosby Hall, Bishopsgate-street; Mr. SAMUEL GURNEY in the chair.

The Secretary, Mr. CHAMEROVZOW, read the Report. After referring to the progress of the anti-slavery movement in Cuba, Brazil, Persia, Turkey, Holland, Portugal, Spain, Africa, and numerous other countries, it alluded to America, where the struggle between freedom and slavery had been most severe. The progress of the movement had been somewhat impeded by the Know-nothing party, but, nevertheless, it was most encouraging. In Holland, a bill had been passed by which, in 1860, 3,600 slaves in the Dutch East India colonies would acquire their freedom. In Portugal, it was the desire of the Government to take early steps for the abolition of slavery, and some steps had been taken in the right direction. During the year the committee had carried on an unusually active correspondence in the four quarters of the globe on the various subjects embraced within the society's operations. An address had been recently forwarded to Marshal Espartero on a continuance of the slave trade to Cuba, and on the subject of slavery in the Spanish colonies, requiring that, in accordance with treaty obligations, all the slaves who have been surreptitiously imported and their descendants shall be set free. The Report referred with regret to numerous instances in which Englishmen residing in England were the holders of slaves in foreign colonies. It also touched on the connexion existing between the Turkish Missions Aid Society and the American Board of Missions, which, it was alleged, was implicated in the question of slavery. Every effort was being made to procure a repeal of the law of South Carolina relating to coloured seamen, but nothing decisive had been done. The financial statement was more satisfactory than in former years. All the liabilities of the society had been discharged, and a small balance remained in the hands of the Treasurer. Mr. Chamerozvow alluded with considerable warmth to the circumstance that Sir J. Young, so recently a member of Her Majesty's Government, had been appointed to the office of Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands. He contended that the appointment of a gentleman who was a slaveholder to a large extent to such an office was not only an outrage upon public morality, but was a disgrace upon the Government who conferred it. (Cheers.)

The Rev. A. B. HILL moved, and Dr. HEWLETT seconded, the adoption of the Report, which was agreed to.

The Rev. CUTHBERT G. YOUNG, Secretary of the Turkish Missions Aid Society, addressed the chair. He had come to the meeting anxious lest any allusion should be made to the society to which he belonged, which was composed of men who were outspoken on the subject of slavery, such as Lord Shaftesbury, the Hon. A. Kinnaird, Sir Edward Buxton, and others. He stated that the Americans had been at work with their missions in Turkey for twenty-five years, that these missions were almost independent of the American Board of Control, and that the London Society, which had sent out to them 1,100*l*, in order to extend native agency and promote scriptural education, did not think they were thereby promoting slavery. They would tremble at the mere thought of giving such encouragement; while it was also a fact, that the American missions in Turkey, though connected with the American Board, are earnest against slavery. He, therefore, suggested the omission of that passage of the Report which reflected on his society.

The SECRETARY rose and said, the question was not whether the American Missions maintained the principles of slavery, but whether Abolitionists, while declaring slavery to be sin, were to unite with men who give their countenance to a board which upholds slavery as the American Board does. He maintained that persons assisted that board who assist their missionaries; and however good men may be, it is a serious error to assist a society which, while it is spreading the Gospel in one part of the world, is violating it in another.

Mr. GURNEY rose and said, that Lord Shaftesbury, the Honourable A. Kinnaird, Thomas Binney, and James Sherman, were men desirous of truth and righteousness, and who thought that in the peculiar position of Turkey, there has been an opening for throwing in the light of the Scripture. Those gentlemen, he was sure, had done all for the best. The meeting had therefore better leave the question of connexion with the American Board alone.

Mr. GEORGE THOMPSON seconded the second resolution, enjoining upon every friend of humanity the principles of the society. The speaker was proceeding to enjoin upon the meeting that the way in which they should act, in order to ensure complete success, was to preserve the principle of abolition pure, by denouncing any such connexion with the American Board as has been alluded to in the Report, when

Mr. GURNEY rose and said that he must prohibit Mr. Thompson from discussing that question, as it had been sufficiently dwelt upon already. Mr. THOMPSON said he would not touch upon it again. Mr. GURNEY repeated, that it was his judgment that the subject should not be further alluded to, and he would not suffer Mr. Thompson to re-open a point which had already been discussed. Upon this, Mr. THOMPSON sat down; but being very loudly called for by the meeting, rose again, continued to address it, denouncing, amidst repeated bursts of applause and cheering, every one, no matter what their rank, who in any way whatever would countenance a Pro-Slavery Board. Mr. A. Q. WIL-

cox seconded the resolution. The resolution was supported by WILLIAM CROFT, formerly a slave.

After the third resolution was proposed by Mr. F. BURKE, of Montserrat, in a speech in which he bore witness to the successful results of abolition in the West Indies, and testified to the moral and intelligent condition of the emancipated negroes; and after the resolution had been seconded and carried, Mr. Alexander was about to move a vote of thanks to the Chairman, when Mr. GURNEY rose, and said that he hoped no vote of thanks would be moved, as he certainly should not accept it. He was in some doubt, indeed, whether after the attack upon Lord Shaftesbury and his friends he should not have left the chair: but he felt that they were quite above any attack that had been made. Mr. GEORGE THOMPSON protested that he had had no thought of attacking Lord Shaftesbury, and said that he had nothing of the sort in his head. Mr. GURNEY replied, that he could not otherwise interpret George Thompson's observations, in reference to the Turkish Mission and the American Board. An attempt was made by Mr. Alexander and the Secretary to adjust the difference; but Mr. Gurney still refused a vote of thanks, and said he would not again preside. The meeting then separated.

THE GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY AND DR. LIVINGSTON.

The anniversary meeting of the Royal Geographical Society was held on Monday at the Society's House, No. 15, Whitehall-place, and was most numerous attended; the Right Hon. the Earl of Ellesmere, the president, in the chair. The Report stated, amongst other things, that the Patron's gold medal has been awarded to Dr. Livingston, for his recent explorations in Africa, between Lake Ngami and the Portuguese settlements on the west coast, and a testimonial of the value of twenty-five guineas in surveying instruments, bearing a suitable inscription, to Mr. Charles John Anderson, for his travels in south-western Africa, as laid down in his route-map communicated to the society.

The Bishop of OXFORD, in moving the adoption of the Report, said, the award of the gold medal to Dr. Livingston, a friend of his own, gave him indeed great pleasure, for he had been the means of introducing commerce and civilisation to the uncivilised parts of the earth. As a minister of religion he had been the pioneer of art, commerce, and civilisation. In geographical discoveries in many parts of the world they had followed the same tract as here, leading to the highest purposes of humanity and civilisation. One of the most remarkable instruments used by Dr. Livingston was contained in his reducing to writing the language of the barbarous and uncivilised nations of the earth, and by their written language conveying the truths of Christianity to the uncivilised people. As Dr. Livingston was the first man of their blood who had crossed the great continent of South Africa, most heartily did he congratulate the members of the Royal Geographical Society that their gold medal had gone into such hands. (Great cheering.)

Lord OVERSTONE had great pleasure in seconding the resolution. Mr. HOSKENS regretted that the Royal medal neither this year nor last year had been conferred upon Dr. Barth. The Earl of ELLESMERE most readily admitted the services of Dr. Barth and Dr. Vogel, but the accounts they had received of their performances were at present too vague to enable the council to judge of their geographical value. The resolution was carried unanimously.

The testimonial to Mr. Anderson, alluded to in the Report, was then presented to that gentleman by the Earl of Ellesmere, with a highly complimentary address.

The Earl of ELLESMERE, on presenting the Queen's gold medal to Dr. Tidman on behalf of Dr. Livingston, said the expedition of that gentleman had higher objects than that of science, which was subordinate to other and higher purposes, and through a country never before traversed by man.

Dr. TIDMAN received with high gratification that mark of their approbation of the character and labours of his friend and helper, Dr. Livingston. Five years ago, when he received a silver medal, he said, if his life was spared he would do more in behalf of the poor and benighted men in South Africa, to place that portion of the human family in something like the comfort that those in England enjoyed. On Dr. Livingston any mark of approbation from a public or patriotic institution would be well bestowed. He went about among the tribes of South Africa in perfect safety, for they had a full conviction that he was the friend of all and the enemy of none. The Bishop of Oxford had noticed that the natives of South Africa had now the Scriptures in their own language. Before that they had no symbol or means of communication, and great were their fears when they found that paper spoke their language at a distance. To form that language Dr. Livingston had to visit the hut of the savage, and there to catch those tones which he reduced to a language, and thus in written words conveyed to them a knowledge of the wonderful things of God. Having alluded to the loss of Dr. Livingston's journal in the Forerunner, he said he had no doubt that he still had the memoranda from which that journal was composed, which would on his arrival form a most important and valuable addition to the science of this country.

The Earl of ELLESMERE proceeded to deliver his annual address, paying, in the course of his remarks, a warm tribute of eulogium to the memory of the society's distinguished friend and associate, the late Sir John Franklin. In allusion to the Arctic expedition, he might observe that plans for the monument of Lieutenant Bellot had been submitted to the council, and it would shortly be erected near to Greenwich Hospital.

ORPHAN WORKING SCHOOL.

Yesterday week a public examination of the children educated at the Orphan Working School took place, at its commodious establishment on Haverstock-hill. The chair was occupied on the occasion by Mr. Apsley Pellatt, M.P., who was supported by many ministers of various denominations, and a numerous and respectable audience. The examination was ably conducted by Mr. Fitch and Mr. Baxter, of the British and Foreign School Society. The ready and appropriate answers of the children elicited general commendation. Rewards were then presented to seventy-five old scholars of the institution, amounting to the sum of 35*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.*, in testimony of their continued good conduct in the situations which they now occupy. Two of the young men presented their rewards of one guinea each to the school, as the commencement of their annual subscriptions, thus becoming governors of the charity which had fostered them.—Mr. E. Ball, M.P., subsequently addressed the old scholars in a very feeling manner, pointing out to them how much they were indebted to their kind benefactors for their manifold advantages, and urging them to cultivate assiduously the improvement of their minds, the avoidance of little sins, such as dishonesty, &c., illustrating and enforcing his caution and counsels by some telling anecdotes, and concluding by dwelling on the claims of the asylum on the continued and increasing support of the community at large. Mr. Pellatt then addressed the children, expressing his extreme satisfaction with what he had seen and heard of them that day, and feelingly advised them to pursue the same virtuous path, not only there, but throughout life, and concluded by appealing to the auditory, which perhaps, was the most numerous that ever assembled there on such an occasion, for continued support to an institution so well conducted. The Rev. John Nunn moved a vote of thanks to Edward Ball, Esq., M.P., for his address to the apprentices, and to the examiners, Messrs. Fitch and Baxter. Mr. Fitch, in returning thanks, bore testimony to the highly satisfactory character of the examination, and mentioned the pleasure he felt in his occasional quiet visits to the school. Mr. Starling, who takes much interest in the management to the school, gave a brief account of the reasons why the school was called a "working" Orphan School, and stated that both boys and girls educated therein were taught everything that would be useful to them throughout life. There are now in the establishment 269 orphan children, about 90 of whom are girls. They are received at the early age of seven years, and remain at the school till they are fourteen or fifteen years old, when, if practicable, suitable situations in life are procured for them. He regretted to observe that, on account of the increased price of food and clothing, the expenditure of the institution had, by upwards of 700*l.*, exceeded its income during the past year. During the proceedings, the anthem "Blessed is he that considereth the poor," "Gibson's Sanctus," the "National Anthem," &c., were sung in parts in admirable style. The whole of the proceedings reflected much credit on the secretary, the house ladies, and committee. The proceedings closed with a vote of thanks to the chairman. The house was then thrown open to visitors, who afterwards saw the children at dinner, and assisted them by tasting pretty extensively the excellent fare provided. Nearly 100 of the old scholars sat down to dinner at the invitation of the house committee.

Parliamentary Proceedings.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

PETITIONS PRESENTED.

Administrative Reform, in favour of, 6.
Army Reform, in favour of, 1.
Burial Ground (Scotland) Bill, for alteration, 1.
Church-rates Abolition Bill, in favour of, 23.
Education (Scotland) Bill, for alteration, 1.
Free Schools Bill, in favour of, 5.
Friendly Societies Bill, for alteration, 19.
Intoxicating Liquors, for prohibiting the sale of, 5.
Marriage Law Amendment Bill, against, 2.
Maynooth College Act, for repeal of, 57.
Metropolis Local Management Bill, against, 1.
Metropolitan Buildings Bill, for alteration, 1.
Mines, for charging to public burdens, 1.
Nuisances Removal Amendment Bill, for alteration, 3.
Public Health Bill, for alteration, 1.
Public-house (Scotland) Act, for extending to Ireland, 3.
Regium Donum, for discontinuance of, 2.
Sale of Beer Act, for repeal of, 18.
Schools (Scotland) Bill, in favour of, 8.
Tenants Improvement Compensation (Ireland) Bill, in favour of, 2.
Vaccination Act, for amendment, 1.
Australian Colonies, for amendment of Constitution Act, 1.
Polish Independence, in favour of, 1.
Ballot, in favour of, 3.
Decimal Coinage, in favour of, 1.
Ecclesiastical Courts Bill, for alteration, 1.
Episcopal, &c., Estates Bill, against, 1.

BILLS READ A FIRST TIME.

Dwellings for Labouring Classes (Ireland) Bill.
Limited Liabilities Bill.
Partnership Amendment Bill.
Bills of Lading (No. 2) Bill.
Ordnance Board Bill.

BILLS READ A SECOND TIME.

Bills of Lading (No. 2) Bill.
Absconding Debtors (Ireland) Bill.
Railways (Ireland) Bill.

BILLS CONSIDERED IN COMMITTEE.

Edinburgh Lands Bill.
Court of Session (Scotland) Bill.
Education of Pauper Children Bill.
Brighton Incorporation Bill.

BILLS READ A THIRD TIME AND PASSED.

Education of Pauper Children Bill.
Brighton Incorporation Bill.

Personal Estates of Intestates.
Militia (No. 2) Bill.

DEBATES.

THE VOTE OF CONFIDENCE IN MINISTERS.

On Thursday, the orders of the day having been disposed of for that purpose, Mr. DISRAELI rose to move the following resolution:—

That this House cannot adjourn for the recess without expressing its dissatisfaction with the ambiguous language and uncertain conduct of Her Majesty's Government in reference to the great question of peace or war; and that, under these circumstances, this House feels it a duty to declare that it will continue to give every support to Her Majesty in the prosecution of the war, until Her Majesty shall, in conjunction with her Allies, obtain for this country a safe and honourable peace.

In a preamble of unusual length, he recited recent proceedings—the failure of Lord Palmerston to follow precedent and address the Crown when he laid the protocols of the Conference on the table; the suspicious circumstances attending the withdrawal of Mr. Gibson's motion; the feeling of distrust that arose in consequence; the feeling in the House just awakening from inglorious lassitude, that Europe was to be baulked in its expectation of a discussion;—all this to explain why, he was ashamed to say, from a cowardly fear of vulgar imputation, he had hesitated to bring the question forward earlier; and to show that now when he did bring it forward, it was not a surprise, but a matter growing out of the circumstances of the hour, and forced upon him by the conduct of the Government. Before he expressed the purpose of his resolution, he distinctly disclaimed having had any communication with Mr. Layard on the subject. Not that he would have any hesitation to communicate with that gentleman: he had known him from boyhood, and he had the greatest confidence in his abilities and excellent intentions; though he must tell him frankly, there is a fair foundation for the prejudices which have risen against him, but which, no doubt, he will outlive. Having disposed of these preliminary matters, Mr. Disraeli took up the main theme of his speech. His object was to show that the language and conduct of the Government were ambiguous and uncertain. When the reverend brow of Lord Palmerston was encircled with the parliamentary crown, who was the first to anticipate the fast dissipating enthusiasm of the glorious epoch?

The member for Carlisle it was who rose and asked that question. (Loud laughter.) When the right honourable gentleman took his seat beyond the gangway, and scanned the scene, and threw his sagacious eye over the various yet memorable history of those thirty-seven years to which he appealed a few nights ago, the right honourable gentleman then naturally remembered that a few years back—a very few years back—he had, assisted by his lieutenants, who are sitting near him, impeached the First Minister of the Crown on account of his conduct of foreign affairs. (Hear, hear.) The noble lord the First Minister was not then a traitor, but was at least, a firebrand. I will recall that memorable Parliamentary contest which ended in a triumph for the noble lord—a triumph, I am bound to say, not gained so much by the valour and number of his legions, as by his distinguished prowess. (Hear, hear.) The right honourable gentleman the member for Carlisle, remembering all these things—remembering that foreign policy was the weak point of the noble lord—remembering that he had formerly failed to turn the noble lord out of the Cabinet—a duty which was reserved for the noble lord opposite (Lord J. Russell)—(laughter and cheers)—rose in his place and, in a House not very full nor very attentive, said—he having just left the Cabinet, and his seat, although filled by a not unworthy successor, being still warm with his ample presence—(laughter)—that he wished to address an inquiry to the noble lord with whose opinions he must at that time have been familiar, and asked whether there was to be any change in the principles upon which the foreign policy of the new Administration was to be conducted,—whether the policy recommended and followed by Lord Aberdeen was to be adopted,—whether, above all things, there was to be any change in the terms and conditions which our plenipotentiary was to insist upon at the conference of Vienna?

Lord Palmerston's reply was, that "the policy of the Government was entirely identified with the policy of Lord Aberdeen." Yet when Lord John Russell returned bootless from the Vienna conference, and Mr. Gibson gave notice of his motion, to everybody's surprise it was found that Sir James Graham and two of his colleagues were to be the prime supporters of that motion. Did not that indicate some change in the conditions upon which peace was to be sought for? This led Mr. Disraeli to the appointment of Lord John Russell, and his conduct at Vienna. That appointment was not a happy one. By his denunciation of the power and ambition of Russia—by his declaration in 1854 that "England could not lay down arms until material guarantees were obtained," Lord John Russell roused the great passion of this great country for decisive struggle with the colossal energies of Russia. Thus the noble lord, selected as the plenipotentiary of peace, was the advocate of war. Though Lord Palmerston told the House that he had conducted the negotiations with consummate ability, it could be shown that he was totally incompetent for the office he rashly and fatally undertook. It was of infinite importance to investigate his conduct, his antecedents, his qualifications. What had he done? He not only made the speech referred to, but he distinguished himself by denouncing the conduct of the Emperor of Russia as "false and fraudulent." He did more; he revealed, in July last, the secret policy of "that profound cabinet," and told the House of the invasion of the Crimea and the destruction of Sebastopol. But these were not all his qualifications.

The noble lord signalled himself by another exploit before he went to make peace for his country. The noble lord destroyed a Cabinet. (Cheers and laughter.) He tripped up his Prime Minister because he was not earnest enough in prosecuting the war. (Continued laughter.) These were the antecedents, and these were the qualifications of the Minister Plenipotentiary to

whom was consigned the fulfilment of the most important duties that have ever been delegated to a subject of the Crown since the great Congress of Vienna. This was the dove sent out to the troubled waters. (A laugh.)

In fact, his conduct was the main cause of our difficult position. What was his conduct during the brief period when he held the seals of the Foreign Office, when he was the head of the diplomacy of England? In the course of those "secret communications" between the Government of England and the Emperor of Russia, Lord John Russell wrote a confidential despatch to Sir Hamilton Seymour, in which he made the fatal admission of acknowledging the protectorate of Russia over the Christian subjects of the Porte—in which he told the Emperor that the exercise of that protectorate, which Count Nesselrode has just told us does not exist, "is prescribed by duty and sanctioned by treaty." Now, bearing in mind this mistake, look at the fourth point. There it is said, that the erroneous interpretation of the treaty of Kainardji "has been the principal cause of the war." By whom was that erroneous interpretation made? by the noble Lord, or the Emperor of Russia?

If by the Emperor of Russia, it was assented to by the Minister of England. (Opposition cheers.) What right have we to interfere in this quarrel, when the united wisdom of all these statesmen has found out that "the erroneous interpretation of the treaty of Kainardji has been the principal cause of the war?" and the erroneous interpreter is sitting before me—(loud Opposition cheers);—and the very statesmen who lashed on the passions of this country to war, when we have a spring-tide of national feeling in favour which may have been directed to great ends, is sent by that gifted man, the First Minister, as plenipotentiary of peace to the conference of Vienna. We are only at the commencement of the extraordinary blunders, the fatal admissions, the disgraceful behaviour, and, as I believe, to this country, the calamitous consequences of the appointment of that noble lord who displays, we are told, consummate ability, though unsuccessful.

That was the key-note to the disgraceful scene at the conferences, so awful in its consequences to the country and to the character of public men. The conferences went on swimmingly until the third point was reached. But before he touched on the real point, Lord John, mindful of his mission, found time to hint at "a new Reform Bill for the Principalities"; which, however, Prince Gortschakoff reminded him, might be postponed—as a new Reform Bill had been postponed in a more important place. But when they came to the real point, Lord John Russell declared—and Count Nesselrode referred to this passage as "a definition fort remarquable"—that "the only admissible conditions of peace would be those which, being the most in harmony with the honour of Russia, should at the same time be sufficient for the security of Europe, and for preventing a return of complications such as that the settlement of which is now in question." What had he, what have we to do with the honour of Russia? No doubt, after that, the Russian plenipotentiaries declined to take the initiative offered them, because they thought the Allies would make proposals more agreeable in spirit than the Russians themselves. And what were the propositions? They were most humiliating, and supported by the most illicit precedents; Lord John Russell appealed to the treaty of Utrecht and the destruction of the fortifications of Dunkirk! The admission respecting the honour of Russia was the real cause why the negotiations were broken off, why peace by negotiation was placed out of question, and a knot tied that diplomacy cannot untie. Lord John, instead of showing great ability, had thus committed every blunder which a negotiator could possibly accomplish. (Cheers.) Having made out this case against Lord John Russell, Mr. Disraeli proceeded to show, by reference to the recent language of Lord Palmerston and Lord Granville, the uncertainty, the inconsistencies of Ministers as to the state of negotiations. Condemning the attempt to carry on war simultaneously with morbid negotiations, and demanding an explicit account of the real position of affairs, he proclaimed that the time for negotiation is past. "I am against this principle of 'leaving the door open'; I say—shut the door, and let those who want to come in knock at the door, and then we shall secure a safe and honourable peace." (Loud cheers.) Ministers have carried on an aggressive war and a protective diplomacy; they have appealed to Austria as a mediator, and vainly expect her to be an ally. It was a great error to depart from the protection of Turkey and rashly attempt an invasion of Russia. He called upon the House to say that the time for negotiation is past, and to put an end to the distrust that reaches our Allies, our generals, our officers, our aristocracy.

If the noble lord and his colleagues think that this House ought in the present state of affairs, in consequence of the failure of these negotiations, to express their determination to support Her Majesty in the manner I have described, how can the noble lord reconcile it to himself, that he did not himself, like a loyal Minister of the Crown—(hear, hear)—come forward and propose an address thanking Her Majesty for the papers which she has so graciously placed on our table? I can hardly recall the passage, but I remember reading of an example in the history of this country which the noble lord the First Minister might well study in regard to communications of this nature proceeding from the Sovereign. It is to be found in "Cox's Life of Sir Robert Walpole," where it is stated that the Duke of Newcastle, then Secretary of State, brought down papers relating to the threatened invasion of England, and laid them on the table of the House of Lords, by Royal command. In consequence of some papers on the same subject having been previously laid on the table, and the Crown having been addressed in regard to them, the Duke of Newcastle said that it was not necessary a second time to address the Sovereign. I can remember the spirit, if I cannot repeat the words, of Sir Robert Walpole on that occasion, when he made the only speech he ever delivered as Earl of Orford:—"My lords," I think he said, "is the English language so barren

that we cannot find words to express our gratitude to His Majesty for every act of grace and condescension to this assembly?" And, continuing in this strain, he so shamed the Ministry that, although the Government party had a great majority in the House of Peers, that august assembly rose almost in a body and decided that it should address the Monarch; while the Prince of Wales, who was then in Opposition, although he had not for some time been on speaking terms with Lord Orford, warmly embraced that nobleman, and, addressing him, exclaimed, "From this moment we are friends. I feel that you have vindicated the honour of the Crown and represented the feeling of the country." (Hear, hear.) Well, then, here is this amendment of the right honourable gentleman (Sir F. Baring). Is it the amendment of the Government? Will they have the courage to support this amendment? If they have, it is possible they may yet take Sebastopol—(Hear, hear) and laughter from the Opposition—for a more audacious act was never perpetrated in this country. (A laugh.) I wish to impress upon the House the difference between my motion and the shabby amendment—(laughter)—that has been cribbed from my thoughts and clothed in my stolen language. (Hear, hear) and laughter.) What is the difference between them? It is this—both the motion and the amendment contain the assurance which I am sure honourable gentlemen on all sides will feel it their duty to proffer to the Crown, of their determination to support Her Majesty in the war in which we are engaged—(cheers)—but in the amendment there is an omission of those words which, if they be adopted, will ring through England to-morrow, and will gladden the heart of many a patriot who is now discontented, when he finds that the House of Commons have come to the issue I have just described, and have decided by their vote to-night that there shall be an end to diplomatic subterfuge and Ministerial trifling. (Cheers.)

Mr. BARROW seconded Mr. Disraeli's motion.

Sir FRANCIS BARING said, he had stolen the language of the resolution because it was free from ambiguity. Until Mr. Disraeli proposed a motion which could not be met by a direct negative, because it proposed to support Her Majesty in carrying on the war, there had been no necessity for the House to express its opinion on the negotiations. In making that motion, Mr. Disraeli had, with his usual dexterity, mixed up in a "shabby" resolution an address to the Crown with an attack on the Government. But if he had specific charges to make, why did he not frankly state them? What concealment has there been, except what was for the good of the country and the interest of peace? Can negotiations even in private life be carried on if all the world knows what is taking place? The motion, whether technically so or not, was really a vote of want of confidence; and the reckless course adopted by Mr. Disraeli, in mixing up an attack upon Government with an address to the Crown, had never before been taken by any party. They were asked to shut the door to negotiations; he appealed to those gentlemen opposite, as anxious for peace and desirous of maintaining the honour of the country as those who sat near him, whether they were prepared to adopt the responsibilities of that course. Sir Francis moved as an amendment—

That this House having seen with regret that the conferences of Vienna have not led to a termination of hostilities, feels it to be a duty to declare, that it will continue to give every support to Her Majesty in the prosecution of the war, until Her Majesty shall, in conjunction with her Allies, obtain for this country a safe and honourable peace.

Sir WILLIAM HEATHCOTE, who intended to propose the insertion, after the word "hostilities" in Sir Francis Baring's motion, the words "and still cherishing the hope that the communications in progress may arrive at a successful result," &c., explained the reasons that would induce him to submit it to the House at a future stage. He held that a chance of peace ought not to be thrown away; that we have already achieved the main avowed objects of the war; and that little is left to settle between the two countries, certainly not more than can reasonably be expected to be accomplished by negotiation. If Sir Francis Baring would adopt his amendment, he would readily vote with him.

Mr. KER SEYMER was prepared to vote with Mr. Disraeli, although perhaps, in a party point of view, a good moment had not been chosen for bringing it forward. Had Lord Palmerston declared distinctly that he would meet Mr. Gibson's motion by a direct negative, he would have stood well with the House. Mr. Seymour argued that a peace must be won by the bravery of our troops. The failure to take Sebastopol would add to the aggressive power of Russia in the Eastern parts of Europe and in Asia. And it was because Mr. Disraeli proposed to win a peace by war, while Ministers proposed to obtain a peace by negotiation, that he supported the motion.

He respected very much the motives of those who would altogether prevent war. The only fault he found with them was, that they put the cart before the horse. If all the world were governed by strictly Christian principles, and there was neither inordinate ambition, cruelty, or oppression, wars would cease, because they would be no longer necessary; but, while those vices prevailed, to put an end to war was simply to hand over the weak to the tender mercies of the strong. (Hear, hear.) While he respected those amiable enthusiasts, he could not say so much for those who objected to war on purely commercial principles. (Hear, hear.) He believed they were ably represented in the House. He believed there were some men who would sacrifice every ally and abandon every treaty rather than diminish to any extent the sale of cotton goods. (Cheers.) For those gentlemen he had no great sympathy. In other words, he had no belief in a calico Millennium. (Renewed cheers.)

Mr. WILKINSON and the Marquis of GRANBY announced their intention to vote against Mr. Disraeli; the latter because he could not agree that the door of negotiation should be shut and those alone admitted who knock at it, and because he would weaken the power of the Government not only in this country but in foreign nations.

Mr. ROBERT PHILLIMORE advocated views subse-

quently embodied at greater length in the speech of Mr. Gladstone; and censured Mr. Disraeli for having no aim but war simply for what is called the honour and glory of England.

Mr. GLADSTONE began by commenting on the different motions before the House. If Sir Francis Baring would insert the word "yet" in his motion, he thought there would be little difference between them. But he preferred the amendment of Sir William Heathcote, because it expressed, in the mildest and most prudent form, the desire of the House that the negotiations, which have afforded an admirable opportunity of putting, probably, if not certainly, an end to the horrors of war, should lead to a settlement of the question. He maintained that the war was just; that the objects of the war have been gained; but that if the war was just while those objects were unattained, it becomes unjust after their attainment. Either you should bind a power by treaty to the observance of the required stipulations, or dismember it and grind it to pieces. But the plan of dismembering Russia is impossible; and no plan can be more false and dangerous than, for the sake of mere military success, to inflict upon Russia indignity without taking away strength. He maintained that the question properly before the House, the difference between the various methods of putting an end to the preponderance of Russia in the Black Sea, is entirely a question of terms. Russia has contrived to make her advances by treaty and violence, each step covered by something previously acquired and approximating to a right. Thus, the diplomatic interference of the late Emperor of Russia was covered by the treaty of Kainardji. Under this cover, Russia made her last aggressive advance; and war was declared because these aggressions were not compatible with the security of Europe. But the original objects of the war have completely vanished from view; and under the circumstances of an European war, we now forget what we were interested in two years ago. (Hear, hear.) What now is the position of Russia? When the four points were first sent to the Court of St. Petersburg in August last, what did that haughty Power reply? That the four points were terms to which Russia could not consent except at the end of a desperate struggle and a long series of defeats. Yet, in December, 1854, after the battles of the Alma and Inkermann, the Emperor did not refuse to meet the Allies, but promised an unreserved acceptance of the very points he had contemptuously rejected in August, and on the 7th January he accepted the four bases of negotiation. Now how do we stand? We have got the first and second point, and we are quarrelling for a moiety of the third. (Hear, hear.) That moiety relates to the preponderance of the Russians in the Black Sea. But that is a question of great and indeed of insurmountable difficulty, and no suggestion which has yet proceeded from the wit of man constitutes a perfectly satisfactory arrangement. Every suggestion is open to objection; all the plans are imperfect. He and his friends were responsible for the limitation proposal, but he had always regarded it as defective; and the only reason he could give why the arrangement, now proposed by Russia, had not been proposed by the Allies is, that it so manifestly gives Turkey an absolute control over the Straits, that had any other Power proposed it Russia would have raised unanswerable objections.

If Russia chooses to propose that as the best mode of settling the differences which exist, then arise these two questions—first of all, is there not some reason to believe that the Russian plan may be a better basis than the plan proposed in opposition to it? and, secondly, if it is not the better basis, is there such a difference between it and ours as to justify us in the position which we now hold in the eyes of Europe—that of a Power which has broken off negotiations for peace because the principle of limitation was refused to us, and nothing but the principle of a discretionary power over the Straits vested in Turkey, proposed in its stead? (Hear, hear.) I have no hesitation as to the answer to be made to those questions, and, if I understand aright the language of the right honourable gentleman opposite, he can have as little. He has denounced this principle of limitation in the strongest terms, as the ground of the very difficulties which I see in the liabilities to evasion, its ineffectiveness, and its extremely offensive character. I hope the House will bear this in mind, that the Russian agents have in these conferences pointed out, with no small appearance of fairness, that the plan of limitation, if Russia had only aggressive objects in view, would fall in better with those aggressive objects than the discretionary powers which she would confer on Turkey. At page 88 of these papers, I find that M. de Titoff remarked that "this double object" (viz., putting an end to the maritime preponderance of Russia in the Black Sea, and strengthening the independence and power of Turkey) "seemed to him better secured by the Russian project than by the principle of limitation maintained by the opposite party; so that Russia, if she had the ambitious plans which are imputed to her, would even have reason to prefer a certain limitation resulting practically from the state of things, to a combination which opens the Black Sea to foreign fleets as soon as the Sublime Porte should consider herself menaced." This is a sentiment well deserving of consideration upon its own merits, and with regard to which, without being able to give a positive opinion on it, I am disposed to think—certainly departing from, or rather modifying, a former opinion in that respect—that there is, at least, very much to be said in its behalf. (Hear.)

But, supposing the question were not, as he contended it was, a question of terms, what would they do? Carry on a war of nationalities—alone; which they would have to do, for neither Austria nor France would embark in that struggle. If not a war of dismemberment, nor a war of nationalities, what then? Some gentlemen of high character and humanity said that more blood must be shed for the sake of military success. But, doing full justice to the deeds of our armies—contending that the discredit that has fallen upon England is nothing in the world except the echo and reflection of our own exaggerations—he strongly

depreciated carrying on the war for mere military success, when all the terms we demanded have been substantially conceded.

War for military success "is hideous—it is immoral, inhuman, and anti-Christian; and you have no right to make war for success. If, when you have obtained the objects of the war, you continue it in order to obtain military glory, because—observe the distinction there is between the objects of the war and success in your military operations—if you persist in the war for the sake of military glory, I say you tempt the justice of Him in whose hands the fates of armies are lodged as completely as the fate of the infant in the cradle—you tempt him to launch upon you His wrath. I dare not, for one, enter upon such a course."

The Duke of Wellington, if he were alive, would not be a party to war for the sake of humiliation. Mr. Gladstone dwelt much on the character we should lose in Europe, if we broke off from negotiations. He spoke of the great losses the Allies have sustained in men—1,000 a day; and argued, that if we attain the success sought, Russia will not offer better terms.

But when I see that Russia has conceded what was asked—when I see the scales of justice so balancing as though urging to place those in the right who were in the wrong, and, perhaps, to place those who were in the wrong in the right, I feel deeply the responsibility which I should incur if I did not beseech the House to pause in the course before them. (Hear, hear.) . . . If we have lost 12,000 or 15,000 English, and twice that number of gallant French, great in proportion must be the number of Russians—perhaps four times as many sleep beneath the turf. Nor is there any consolation in what I saw in the *Times* the other day—and the statement has every appearance of truth—in which it was said that the loss of the Turks was 120,000. (Cries of "No, no—Russians.") No; that was the loss of the Turks. If we have, then, 15,000 English, between 30,000 and 40,000 French, and 120,000 Turks, numbered among the dead as the consequence of this war, it is no consolation to think that 250,000 Russians have been killed. The total number of the slain is nearly half a million, so that during this war, on an average, the lives of 1,000 of our fellow-creatures have been extinguished daily. If we are making war on a just and sufficient cause, that will bear examining in our hearts and consciences, in the face of man and in the eye of God, we must bear the hard necessity, and our conscience need not shrink from it; but if this be not so, and if you are desirous of carrying on the war for small, secondary, petty objects, which you dare not avow in a public declaration or make known through the Government, the organ of the country—(An honourable MEMBER: "Appeal to the country"), or dare scarcely avow in a conversation with our fellow-men, let us, while there is time, do all that we can, by taking the initial step, towards putting an end to the prevalence and desolation of this awful scourge—let us, by the adoption of terms as moderate and cautious as those proposed by my honourable friend, do something, so far as depends on us, to open to Christendom the gates by which they may return to happiness and peace. (Loud cheers.)

LORD JOHN RUSSELL admitted that Mr. Gladstone had discussed the question in a manner worthy of himself; whereas Mr. Disraeli had totally lost sight of the great question that ought to occupy the House, and, in most ambiguous language, had entertained them for two hours and a half with party attacks and hacknied sarcasms. After once passing the Rubicon of war, the object must be to obtain a peace which affords grounds of safety and duration, by taking security for the future. The first and second points adequately disposed of the danger to the Principalities. The third point would have attached Turkey to the balance of power in Europe, and would have put an end to the preponderance of Russia in the Black Sea. Mr. Gladstone saw a fulfilment of that provision in the propositions of Russia; although, so long as Russia retains a fleet of twenty sail of the line in Sebastopol, she may, as Marshal Marmont has shown, take possession of the Bosphorus, land an army at Constantinople, stand at the gate of the Sultan's palace, and impose what terms she thinks fit. That which would have been impossible under the treaty of 1841 would have become possible and easy to Russia under the proposition for opening the Straits. Under the second Russian proposition she would remain closed; Turkey being able to call the fleets of her allies to her assistance. But the Sultan can do that without any revision of the treaty of 1841; and in such an attack everything depends upon priority.

I think that to have said the third article was fulfilled by provisions as futile and nugatory as either the first or the second alternative offered by Russia, would have been an attempt to deceive Europe, in a manner quite unworthy of two such nations as England and France. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Gladstone deprecated a military success. Lord John showed that if security had been obtained for peace, it would have been possible to have withdrawn an army of from 150,000 to 200,000 from the Crimea; but to withdraw them without obtaining that security would add failure in arms to failure in diplomacy—would add not only to the preponderance of Russia in the Black Sea, but also to her preponderance all over the world. Very calmly adverting to Mr. Disraeli's more personal criticism, Lord John said, he had felt, that being more accustomed to parliamentary life than to negotiations, he was not the fittest person for the office of plenipotentiary; but it was urged upon him by Lord Clarendon, with the concurrence of Lord Palmerston and the approbation of the Queen. Lord John defended the course he took at Vienna. He showed that the Emperor of Russia had by treaty a right to interfere for the protection of Christian subjects in Turkey; but that Prince Menschikoff went beyond the treaty rights, and that when Sir Hamilton Seymour wished the Russian Government to point out the specific passage in the treaty of Kainardji which justified the interference, the Emperor referred him to Count Nesselrode, and Count Nesselrode said, he was not familiar with the treaty. Lord John

showed the menacing advance which Russia has made in the face of treaty restraints:—

She has extinguished the separate nationality and incorporated the army of Poland. She has erected six or seven fortresses of a strength at least equal to that of Sebastopol, and she has conciliated the peasantry, to a very great extent, by a policy artfully adapted to that purpose, and at the same time the young men of Poland of rank and influence, who, filled with historic recollections and patriotic ardour, might be suspected of an inclination to rise against the power of Russia, those young men are carefully watched and marked, and are selected to send to a distance in the interior provinces of Russia—where they meet with no sympathy, where their names are unknown, and where they are forgotten by all but their relatives and friends in their own country. (Hear, hear.) In the Baltic, we found last year, and since the commencement of the present war, plans of great fortifications, which had been commenced, and which, if completed, would, as Sir Charles Napier, who sent them home, said, have given Russia the most complete preponderance over the Baltic; that when those fortifications should have been completed, neither Denmark nor Sweden, nor any other Power, could have held up a finger against Russia in the Baltic Sea. (Hear, hear.) In Germany she is connected with many of the smaller Princes by marriage. Many of the Princes of Germany, I am sorry to say, live in great fear of what they think the revolutionary disposition of their subjects, and rely on their armed forces for protection. But what are those armed forces? The officers of those forces are seduced and corrupted by the Russian Court. That Court distributes rewards, orders, and distinctions among them, and in some cases, where the receipt of money to pay debts will be accepted, that money has been liberally given by the Russian Court; and that Germany which ought to be in a state of independence—Germany, which should stand forward for the protection of Europe—has been corrupted, and has been undermined in its vital strength and independence by Russian arts and Russian means. (Cheers.)

The dangers arising from the treaty of Adrianople were seen too late to remedy them in 1829; but now that we are at war, we ought not to forget the lesson. Lord John briefly recapitulated the progress of the war by which Russia was driven back from the Danube, the Principalities placed under the safeguard of Austria, and the enemy subjected to pressure in the Crimea. He showed that the Russian plenipotentiaries had acted under the instruction of the late Czar; that they were to make no proposals on the subject of the third point; that Russia might have given up the fleet in the Black Sea, which she has been obliged to destroy, without parting with any material portion of her strength; and that, as a person of high authority remarked to Lord John, "If she objected to reduce her navy, it would be a proof that she intended aggression."

I thought that remark perfectly just, for I cannot conceive why Russia should wish to restore that force, and why she should hesitate to make peace, in order to have seventeen or eighteen men-of-war at Sebastopol, unless she meditated some future aggression upon Turkey—(cheers)—and still more than when I went to Vienna I believe that to be in the contemplation of Russia. (Hear, hear.)

The Russians, copying the late Czar, believe that it is the interest of Russia to take Constantinople as a means of forestalling France and England in the seizure; for they regard the fall of Turkey as certain.

After all that I have heard against that project of limitation, in the position of affairs in which we were placed, I see no better security than that limitation, or the plan to which Russia was more opposed—that of making the Black Sea a commercial sea altogether, and not admitting any ships of war in that sea. (Hear.) This, therefore, is my defence with respect to this proposal. The right honourable gentleman has asked what it signifies whether Russia has four or eight ships, more or less, in the Black Sea. (Hear, hear.) Well, but then he goes on to say that we ought to defend Turkey when Russia is prepared to attack her. But this brings us to one of two conclusions—either that we must be there perpetually to defend Turkey and to make perpetual war, or that we must be contented with leaving Turkey as she is, and that on Russia consenting to say, as she has said, that she is prepared to respect the integrity and independence of Turkey, we should withdraw our forces, make peace, and have no security whatever beyond that which Russia has consented to give. That was the plan of my right honourable friend (Mr. Gladstone); but he manfully avowed it. He brought it forward before the House of Commons and supported it. But the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Disraeli) says, do not end the war, but end the negotiations. (Hear.) Therefore he proposes that we should have no success in war and no security for peace, and, at the same time, proposes a continuance of war. Can anything be more inconsistent or extravagant than the proposal of the right honourable gentleman? (Hear, hear.)

LORD JOHN thus referred to the present position of Austria:—

I own that Austria has not given us all the support which she might. As far as support could be given in the conferences, she has given that support, and with regard to this last proposition, of calling up the forces of the Allies when Turkey was in danger, she said, "That is no security; it is leaving the preponderance of Russia unlimited till the moment when the danger becomes intolerable." (Hear, hear.) I must say, Sir, that I do not expect, however, that Austria is prepared, in the present state of the question, to take an immediate part in the war against Russia with us. I believe that she would have consulted her own interests and her own dignity better if she had, some time ago, joined us in that war; but, at the same time, there are very considerable and very powerful motives which influence her to maintain peace. In the first place, her capital is not in the situation of London or Paris, free from any danger of incursion from a Russian army. She has no sufficient fortress in Galicia to prevent a Russian army, if it should gain even one victory, marching at once to Vienna. She has no secure alliance on this subject with Prussia, and that I hold to be one of the main motives which have deterred her from taking an active part in this war. Prussia, her great

rival, not only opposes her on this question, but is constantly canvassing the smaller States of Germany against her upon this question—(hear)—so that Austria feels that, unless you can show there is a predominant motive to induce her, she would not be justified, in the present position of Germany, in entering into war. (Hear, hear.) I tell this fairly to the House, because I think not only that justice ought to be done to Austria, but likewise because I do not wish to hold out any hopes which may not be verified, that she will immediately take part in this war. I do think, however, her position is such, and her treaty engagements with us are such, that if the war continues she will find it necessary, in order to meet and vanquish that preponderance of Russia, to take part in the war; and of this I feel sure, that the part which Austria has played, not taking a share in the spoils of Turkey, as may have been expected, but joining with us in all measures and proposals we have thought necessary, will never be forgiven by Russia, and that her only safety lies in building up such alliances as shall secure Turkey and Europe against Russian aggression. (Cheers.)

Lord John then recurred to home questions. So far as Mr. Disraeli's speech was concerned, probably so great a question never had been so degraded as this had been by the language of the right honourable gentleman. (Loud Ministerial cheers.) He did not deny that great mistrust prevailed throughout the country, but he did not think it would be removed by the mere substitution of honourable gentlemen opposite for those on his own side. (Ministerial cheers.) He thought administrative reform a very desirable object, and had been to a great extent carried out in Lord Panmure's excellent scheme of army reform. He did not find, with regard to the Finance, with regard to the Home Department, or with regard to that department over which he had the honour to preside, that there had been any complaint made of inefficiency. He thought Mr. Disraeli had made a false move, and that neither he nor those who acted with him would gain credit by the attempt to catch up the feeling of the moment before the holidays.

The debate was then adjourned.

On Friday night, Mr. WHITESIDE re-opened the debate in a trenchant speech. He pointed out the broad distinctions between the views of Lord J. Russell and Mr. Gladstone, two eminent statesmen who had jointly guided the destinies of England, the voice of the former being for war, that of the latter for peace. The avowal made by Lord J. Russell on the preceding night clearly showed that he went to Vienna under a firm belief that, although success in his negotiations was within the range of possibility it was to the last degree improbable. He had further avowed that he left Vienna more convinced than ever of the intention of Russia to encroach upon and destroy Turkey. He had, moreover, given a terrible description of the insatiable character and unceasing activity of Russian ambition—a description which was the strongest argument for the motion before the House; but what remedy had he proposed? He had said nothing as to the policy of the Government except to confess that "something must be done." He (Mr. Whiteside) thought the speech of Lord John showed the necessity of declaring their resolution to carry on the war against a power as fraudulent as it is colossal. At much length he elaborated this point; urging upon the House that Russia keeps no treaties, respects no obligations. He made a special attack upon Mr. Gladstone—"the chief of the Peace party," the moralist and philosopher, upon whom a new light had broken respecting the horrors of war.

The right honourable gentleman's powers of imagination were far superior to his powers of argumentation. He spoke of something that would place matters in the East on a sound and stable basis; but what security did the right honourable gentleman offer to the House for the realisation of his hopes? After listening to the right honourable gentleman, he was reminded of a circumstance that not long ago occurred in Ireland. A gentleman, a friend of his, had been to a public meeting, where, he said, he heard a very fine speech. He asked him if he liked the speech? to which he replied in the negative. On his expressing some surprise at this, the gentleman rejoined, "Oh, it was a mouthful of moonshine after all." (Great laughter.) Where was the reality of the right honourable gentleman's statements? He wanted to lay his hands on them, but could find nothing tangible. (Hear, hear.) It will not do (continued the honourable and learned gentleman) to make an able and sophisticated speech, and tell us that the noble lord is wrong. Why, we all agree in that. (Laughter.) What we want to find out is how to be in the right. The right honourable gentleman is a late Minister of the Crown, and I want to learn from his lips what security he has to offer for the good working of his plan. If I can at all understand the right honourable gentleman, his security is just this—that if ships are sent for by the Sultan they may come through the Straits, which, he says, they cannot do at present so conveniently as they will do when they have the united advantage of the electric telegraph and a treaty. "We will thus," says the right hon. gentleman, "take care of the sick man." No doubt; and it will be, meanwhile, the care of Russia to secure his eternal repose. (Great laughter.) The right honourable gentleman criticised with consummate ability the application of the third point. He pointed out the difficulties, and criticised and commented on the language and conduct of the noble lord, and dwelt on those with inimitable power and effect; but I am, nevertheless, told that the right honourable gentleman is himself the author of this third point. (Cheers.) I understand that he—one of the great statesmen of the age—himself composed this third point, the application of which, he says, is so absurd, so imaginative, so difficult of adjustment, and that having constructed this piece of statesmanship he now demolishes it with unsparring vigour. (Cheers and laughter.) He is in the same predicament as the noble lord and his colleagues, and they are all alike responsible. (Hear, hear.) They get the country into difficulties from which they want the virtue or the power to extricate it. They make war, and they cannot make war. (Laughter.) They endeavour to make peace, and they cannot make peace. (Laughter.) They draw up

protocols which the very author cannot well understand, and to apply which, he says, is an impossibility. (Laughter.) I confess I am not able to find anything more substantial in the course of the right honourable gentleman's able speech than that appeal which he made when he counselled you, on the ground of Christianity, religion, and knowledge, to get rid of this war; but let me ask the right honourable gentleman one question with reference to that eloquent appeal. He is a moralist and a philosopher—when did that new light break in upon his mind? (Great cheering.) The right honourable gentleman has described to us in fervid eloquence the horrors of war, and he has expatiated with uncommon power on the blessings of peace. But, I ask, who advised the invasion of Russia? (Cheers.) Who made war upon the territory of Russia? The right honourable gentleman. Who advised the expedition to the Crimea and the attack on Sebastopol? The right honourable gentleman. (Cheers.) Who plunged this country into the horrors into which it is now sunk? The right honourable gentleman. And if there has been an effusion of human blood at which every humane man must shudder, that bloodshed was counselled, and the invasion which led to it was undertaken on the advice tendered by the right honourable gentleman and his colleagues; and now we see that they are the first to denounce and lament it. (Hear, hear.) The right honourable gentleman and his colleagues sent forth those gallant men who were fighting our battles, and what was their conduct subsequent to that? . . . I therefore deny the right of the right honourable gentleman to argue as he has done, and to make the appeal which he has addressed to us. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. WHITESIDE concluded with a graphic description of the objects of the war—

Behold the difference between the Ministry and the nation! On the one hand, timid negotiations, feeble policy, and divided councils; and contrast that with the energy, enterprise, courage, and enthusiasm of the people. (Cheers.) For what are we fighting? For the supremacy and greatness of England, a cause which cannot for one moment be laid down. (Cheers.) You are not fighting for the mere interests of commerce, though I wish not to be understood as undervaluing the advantages of commerce; but you are fighting for the greatness, the supremacy, and glory of the country—for something nobler than the interests of commerce, or the advantage of any class of men. (Cheers.) I hold that the object of this great contest is to establish the authority of eternal justice, to prove that England shall not be brought into a great struggle in vain, and to promote and advance, I hope, the liberties of the world. (Loud and repeated cheers.)

Mr. LOWE said that the Tory Opposition kept their patriotism for their speeches, and put their party-spirit into their motions. Mr. Lowe desired to really raise the question that ought to be discussed. Both Mr. Disraeli and Sir Francis Baring proposed a course which it would be discreditable for the House to pursue. He proposed this amendment, incorporated with Sir Francis Baring's—

That this House, having seen with regret, owing to the refusal of Russia to restrict the strength of her navy in the Black Sea, that the conferences at Vienna have not led to a termination of hostilities, feels it to be a duty to declare that, the means of coming to an agreement on the third basis of negotiation being by that refusal exhausted, it will continue to give every support to Her Majesty in the prosecution of the war, until Her Majesty shall, in conjunction with her allies, obtain for this country a safe and honourable peace.

(Hear, hear.) His right honourable friend (Mr. Gladstone) said they had attained the objects of the war, and should, therefore, now make peace; but their end was to check the aggressive spirit of Russia, and unless they had accomplished that they could not consistently or safely abandon the struggle. (Hear, hear.) Were peace made upon the terms suggested by the right honourable gentleman what would become of Turkey? In her present state, asserted by her allies, diminished in her prestige and character, could she maintain her place as an independent Power for a single year in the face of Russia, whose prestige would be enormously increased by the result of the siege of Sebastopol? If we retired from the contest, Turkey would, therefore, be delivered over to Russia hand and foot; and the empire of that colossal Power would overshadow the Northern Powers, place Germany at her feet, and extend itself until it brought within its gigantic span all the free nations which were contemporaneous to it. He called upon the House to repudiate the system of keeping up these eternal negotiations, and not to cease from war until the restriction on the power of Russia is fully carried out.

Mr. CAYLEY gave his support to these views. Mr. ROUNDELL PALMER, concurring with Sir William Heathcote, deprecated vain glorious notions of national honour; put in a defence of Russian good faith; urged the impolicy of wounding Russian honour; ridiculed, as the wildest of chimeras, the idea of a sudden and treacherous descent upon Constantinople; and insisted that the present is a good opportunity for making peace. Lord STANLEY expressed a hearty concurrence in Mr. Disraeli's motion; yet argued throughout for peace. Are we fighting really to protect our ally, or for ulterior objects? Do we propose to humble Russia?—that would be most impolitic: to lower her to the level of a second-rate Power?—our means are totally, ludicrously, inadequate: to make the war a war of principle?—but in a war of principle we must raise nationalities, and in a war of that kind we cannot be trusted.

They could not effect their object by taking Sebastopol, by sending an expedition to the Crimea, or by sending a blockading fleet to the Baltic, but they must be prepared to expect, from the nature of the people and the country with whom they had to contend, an obstinate and long-protracted struggle. Russia, as a Power, was weak for carrying on offensive war at a distance; but at home, protected by her climate and the extent of her empire, and carrying on a war for her national existence, she would occupy this country for many years. (Hear.) This country could not hope for much assistance from the Turkish army beyond the frontiers of its own country; neither could they hope to receive the co-operation of Austria and Prussia; and he

might go still further, and ask whether it would be to the interest of France, or the dynasty now governing that country, to carry on a war of that nature? However much this country might desire and intend to make this war of Governments, they would be driven to employ other weapons, and the war must become one of principle, and they would have to raise the various countries which Russia had at different times incorporated in her empire—they would have to raise Poland and Circassia, and to sow dissension in the empire of Russia itself. If they commenced this war of revolution, it could not be supposed that its influence would be confined to the countries in which it had originated, for in such a war it was most probable that Hungary and Italy would have something to say—(hear)—and this country was not likely to be joined in such a war by Austria or the despotic Governments of Europe, but would stand virtually alone. Some persons said, although he had not heard the argument used in that House, why should not a war of that nature be undertaken? why should not England stand forward and support the principle of nationalities? But was it in the power of England to do so? The meaning of the principle of nationalities was, that no race, however weak, however numerically small and inferior, ought to be subjected by another and a stronger race. Against that principle the British empire was a standing protest. How could we, who upheld in India the most wide-spread despotism the world ever saw, say that we were too free, too liberal, to tolerate the maintenance by any other Government of a despotism consolidated by power? Any such attempt upon our part would be received by Europe with ridicule and distrust. (Cheers.) Apart from that consideration, he asked whether this House, which was responsible for the interests of the country, had a right to enter upon a course which, be its issue what it might, must be productive of great injury to the country? (Hear, hear.) They had no right to incur so great a risk for the sake of remote and speculative results which might be advantageous to the interests of the human race. (Hear, hear.) He doubted also whether anything would be gained to Europe by erippling the resources of this country; on the contrary, a deeper injury would thereby be inflicted on the cause of freedom and civilisation throughout the world than would be compensated by the advantage, ten times told, of the restoration of Poland and the other nationalities. (Hear.) After the speech they had heard last night, he would say nothing about the principle of fighting not for terms but for military glory; but of all the impolitic ideas which could enter the brain of man, the idea of humbling an enemy without crushing him was the most impolitic. (Cheers.) He did not now speak the language of the Peace Society, or of a sentimental philanthropist; but he repeated what had been said by one who possessed great knowledge of human nature. Machiavelli, in the Prince, said "this maxim ought never to be lost sight of—either make a man your friend, or else put it out of his power to be your enemy." (Cheers.) These words clearly indicated the only alternatives before them—either they must settle the quarrel on fair and equal terms, respecting the honour of Russia as their own, or they must make up their minds to an interminable war.

Long before another year shall have passed over, the people of this country will ask with one voice what they are fighting for, and what, save tracts of barren ground, they are to receive as compensation for the sacrifice of uncounted thousands of their sons, and for mourning and desolation carried into a hundred thousand homes.

Mr. LAYARD began by informing the House that he had not abandoned his motion on Administrative Reform, and that he should bring it forward after Whitsuntide, on a motion for supply. In dealing with the subject before the House, he went back to the origin of the war, pointed out several "capital mistakes" in the diplomacy of the Allies—such as disclaiming territorial aggrandisement, and bringing Serbia under the protectorate of the Five Powers; and he struck a balance of advantages and disadvantages, to show that Austria and Russia have gained the former, and the Allies the latter. Entering, then, upon a discussion of the protocols and four points, he censured the proceedings of Lord J. Russell in sanctioning the interference of Austria and Russia in the internal affairs of the Principalities and with reference to the navigation of the Danube. In regard to the third point, he agreed that it would be impossible to carry out a limitation clause; but the counter-proposition of Russia was no concession on her part. The fourth point, although apparently exacting a sacrifice from Russia, would, he contended, promote her views. If it was meant to destroy the hopes of a Christian empire in the East, the Western Powers, he said, were going the right way to do it. The result was that Russia was a great gainer under the terms proposed at the Conference; but the greatest gainer was Austria, and her gains had no counterpoise of loss. Mr. Gladstone had argued in favour of peace; that if Russia had gradually made concessions, and had come to the minimum, it was unwise to press her further. Then a Power had only to begin with the most preposterous demands. If we went to war for a great object, that object must be carried out, or the prestige of England would be gone, and she would be like ruined Venice or Genoa. As an independent member, he knew not which way to turn, or whom to trust. The only way out of the difficulty seemed to be that proposed by Mr. Lowe.

Lord PALMERSTON accepted the challenge of Mr. Disraeli, although the motion was not one befitting a great occasion. Before treating the main object, he expressed the pain he felt at the speech of Mr. Gladstone; which, taken as a whole, was adverse to the war, adverse to the expedition to the Crimea, adverse to the terms on which it had been proposed to conclude a peace: yet Mr. Gladstone was a party to all these, and it was to be regretted that any circumstances should have occurred since he quitted the Government to have so entirely altered his opinions. As to the war, details were not necessary: the settled policy of Russia, her endeavour to weaken, crumble down, and appropriate Turkey, rendered further passiveness impossible. The object of the

war was to protect Turkey and prevent Russian aggression; and we went to the Crimea, because a blow struck there would deprive Russia of the means of aggression. With regard to Austria, it was sound policy to accept her good offices; and if it has not suited her policy to declare herself our active ally, yet we have had the benefit of her neutrality, and of that disposition of her troops which obliges Russia to keep a corresponding force on the Gallician frontier. Had the Government trusted to negotiations and neglected war, they would have been open to blame; but they had done everything humanly possible to carry on the war. Mr. Gladstone's mode of disposing of the third point, by saying that we had got one-half, and were quarrelling about the other, is a convenient mode; but we have to consider far higher interests than can be expressed by arithmetical calculations. The valuable part of the third point—the cessation of Russian preponderance in the Black Sea—is the moiety for which we are quarrelling. The fortress of Sebastopol and its fleet are a standing menace to Turkey. It is said that if the Straits were opened the Sultan could call his allies to his assistance. "Thank you for nothing," he would say to Russia. This argument, that when the Sultan is in danger he can call for help, implies aggression on the part of Russia.

I remember some years ago, when all the armies of the Continent were swelled to an enormous amount, and when all Europe felt that such large forces could not be brought into the presence of each other without the danger of conflict, a proposal was made that France, Austria, and Prussia should disarm. This was agreed to by those three Powers; but when it was proposed to Russia, that Power said, "We think a general reduction of establishments a very good thing; but it does not apply to Russia; we have only 800,000 men, which is our regular peace establishment—(laughter)—and therefore we will have nothing to do with carrying this project into execution." (Cheers.) That which appeared to us, to France, and to Austria, the best security against danger to Turkey from Russia, was to call on Russia to renounce that local means of attack which created at all times danger to Turkey, whom she pretended she had no desire to injure. For her own defence a fleet in the Black Sea had been proved to be wholly unnecessary. For the defence of her coasts and her ports any amount of naval power that she has must be unavailing, and must retire from the presence of the fleets of England and France. (Hear, hear.) Against Turkey she needs no defence, as respects England and France her fleet is unavailing, and therefore there is no pretence why she should not limit her power in the Black Sea. (Hear, hear.)

Gentlemen imagine that the four points fall short of what is required for the security of Turkey—

I think our duty is to confine ourselves to that, to which we see our way, and we do see our way to the success of the operations in which we are now engaged—(cheers)—and, in spite of all the difficulties which we have to surmount, in spite of all the mischances which have happened, I think we have turned the point; I think that Russia, having refused those fair conditions which, in conjunction with France and the approbation of Austria, we have proposed, we are now in a position in which, in full confidence we can carry on the operations of the war with a fair prospect of that success which England and France must, and are bound to obtain. (Loud cheers.) I say, "must, and are bound to obtain," because I say it is impossible for England and France, when engaged in a great contest, to fail in the accomplishment of that object. (Hear, hear.) It will not be the simple disappointment; it will be the abandonment of the proud position which those countries fill, and we shall sink into the condition of second-rate Powers. We have heard the right honourable gentleman dwell upon the miseries and calamities of war. No man can be blind to those miseries. No man can be insensible to the calamities which war entails. But I say there are things worse than war. (Hear, hear.) Dishonour to a country is worse than war. I do not mean worse only as respects reputation; but I say the physical evils which befall a country that descends to a lower rank, and permits herself to be worsted in a conflict, are far greater than the immediate results of war. I say that the party who would induce this country to depart from the line of conduct which the general opinion of the public points out—the party who would induce the country to abandon the contest in which it is engaged, by making peace on insufficient grounds—grounds neither satisfactory to the country nor securing tranquillity for the future—that party, be they who they may, is one whose opinions, if they could prevail, would be most fatal to the welfare of this country. (Cheers.)

This House is called upon to-night to pronounce an opinion upon two great and important questions. It is called upon, first of all, to pronounce an opinion upon the existence of a Ministry. But there is a far greater question which this House has to determine this evening, which is, the policy of the country, the condition in which we are to stand with the nations of the world, our alliances with foreign Governments—I may also say the future reputation and honour, and the deepest interests of England. (Loud cheers.) The obvious object of the motion of the right honourable gentleman is, that this House shall pronounce that the Government is incompetent, and therefore remove us from office. Well, then, Sir, who are to succeed us? We are told we have not shown administrative abilities or united ranks. I deny both the one and the other. (Cheers.) Is the Opposition so distinguished for that perfect unanimity as to insure a Government which would answer the wishes of the people? Is that a party which possesses those administrative abilities which you would substitute for the Government which sits here?

[The uplifted arm of the noble lord, who, with animating gesture, was submitting another interrogatory, and had just pronounced the words "Is that the party," seemed momentarily paralyzed by the loud call at the bar of "Black Rod" and, amid the laughter of the Opposition, not altogether unparticipated by the gentlemen on the Ministerial benches, his lordship seated himself, while the formal summons was delivered for the immediate attendance of the Commons in the other House, to hear the Royal assent given by

commission to several bills, for which see Lord's report.]

Lord PALMERSTON then resumed his speech, amid cheers, by observing that the House of Lords had somewhat anticipated the right honourable gentleman opposite; for while he proposed a vote of censure, the House of Lords had already administered the "rod." He pursued the party attack; instancing the disagreement of Sir John Pakington and Mr. Henley on education, of Mr. Whiteside and Lord Stanley on the question of peace or war; and with respect to administrative capacity, the confession of Lord Derby, when offered office, that he had not in his party the elements of a Government suited to the exigencies of the times, but they did not censure the policy of the Government, they censured the capacity of its members. There was, however, another alternative before the House—that offered by Mr. Gladstone "in the name of a party who would accept peace on conditions which I think and the country thinks dishonourable—(cheers)—dishonourable and dangerous to the future interests of this country. (Renewed cheers.) Without meaning any disrespect to those honourable gentlemen, for some of whom I have the highest regard, and whose talents are well known, I will venture to say, that, if a new Government were to be composed of them, it would be a very great chance if any of them were re-elected. (Cheers from all sides.) The choice then really lies between the two sides of the House; and he contended that Government had done nothing to forfeit the good opinion formed when first constituted.

We were supported by the good opinion of the country because the country thought we were going to prosecute with vigour the war which the country has unanimously determined to be necessary and just. (Cheers.) I say we have been taking every possible measure to prosecute that war with vigour, and I confidently expect that the result will show we are not undeserving of the confidence which the country reposed in us, and that we shall be enabled to realise the just expectations which were formed of our policy. (Hear, hear.) The fate of battles is in the hands of a higher Power. It is not in our power to command success, but it is enough for us to do all in our power to obtain it. That we have done, and we trust to a higher Power for the rest. (Hear, hear.) I say that, if we succeed, we shall have the satisfaction of thinking that our success has been brought about by perseverance; and, without boasting—without proclaiming from day to day the different steps we have taken, we shall be justified in believing that that success is, humanly speaking, owing to our exertions to secure it. (Hear, hear.) If, on the other hand, we fail—a contingency I will not anticipate—we shall, at least, have the right to feel that the failure was not owing to any want of diligence or exertion on our part. I am persuaded, whatever may be the decision of the House this night as to the relative merits of parties here, that this country is in earnest in the war—(cheers)—and that the people of England will give their support to any Government which honestly and vigorously executes the will of the British nation. On the other hand, I am confident that they would never sanction any Government which, abandoning our Allies, and deserting the policy which has been pursued up to this moment, not merely in deference to the principles of justice and a sense of national interest and national honour, but because it is in accordance with the will and feelings of the country. (Cheers.) Therefore, so far as the interests of the country are concerned, I look with comparative indifference to the result of the present motion. I feel that, in whatever hands the government is placed, the will of the country must and will be obeyed. (Hear.) I know that that will is that the country, having engaged in a war necessary and just, in concert with our great ally and neighbour, France, must and shall succeed. (Cheers.) I am confident that this nation will never permit any Government, composed of whomever it might be, to be false to the trust reposed in them; and, though it may be the duty of the Government to exhaust the means of negotiation as far as those means can honourably be pursued, the country would call to a strict account any Government which should, in anticipation of negotiation, abandon the performance of its duty in preparing the means of war. (Hear, hear.) We have not shrunk from that duty; and I defy any man to accuse us with justice of a dereliction of duty in that respect. I am persuaded that events, at no distant period, will show that in claiming a verdict of approbation for the manner in which we have performed our duty we have not overstepped the limits of justice, and that without reason we have been accused of shrinking from the exertions which the country expected at our hands. (Cheers.)

Mr. DISRAELI, in reply, tauntingly asked, was this the Minister who on Monday prevented discussion, and evaded every inquiry? He renewed his personal attacks, and retorted the accusation of disunion upon the Premier and his party. Towards the close of Mr. Disraeli's speech there arose frequent cries of "Divide!"

When the division was taken there appeared—For the resolution, 219; against it, 319; majority against Mr. Disraeli's motion, 100.

After the cheering had subsided, Mr. LOWE moved his amendment upon Sir Francis Baring's, which then became the motion before the House. Mr. GIBSON moved an adjournment; which Lord GODERICH and Lord PALMERSTON opposed. Sir JAMES GRAHAM urged that a decisive majority having now pronounced against a change of Administration, it would be but fair that an opportunity should be given for the discussion of the point raised by Mr. Lowe, and not fully debated. He adverted to some reflection of Lord J. Russell, which he supposed to imply that the war was to become one of nationalities.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL disavowed that inference. What he had said was that the object of the war should be, beyond the immediate defence of Turkey from aggression, security for the future. He had never gone beyond that declaration. He urged an immediate decision of the House. Mr. DISRAELI and Mr. SIDNEY HERBERT joined in expressing a desire for adjournment. It was now extremely late—past

three o'clock: Lord PALMERSTON gave way, and the debate was adjourned till Monday, the 4th June.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN CANADA.

In the House of Lords, on Friday, the Bishop of OXFORD moved for copy of an address presented to Her Majesty by the House of Assembly and Legislative Council of Canada, praying for the removal of disadvantages to which the Church in Canada is subject, and to enable it to elect its own bishops; and for any answer which may have been given thereto. The right reverend prelate said an act had recently been passed by the Canadian Legislature, one clause of which declared that it was desirable to make an entire separation between Church and State, so that it might be perfectly plain and clear that there was no connexion whatever between the two in those colonies. In consequence of the passing of that act, and its acceptance at home, an address to Her Majesty was adopted by the two chambers of the Canadian Legislature to the effect that, inasmuch as the connexion between Church and State was thereby dissolved, those accidents which had hitherto accompanied the connexion should also be removed. This was not an unconstructive movement for this country. Many people here were apt to forget that the union between Church and State implied these correlatives—a certain support of the Church from the State, and with it a renunciation of what might otherwise be the natural liberties of the Church. He, for one, believed that the Church and State both profited by these relations, and had no wish, therefore, to see them altered; but seeing that the daily current of legislation and the tendency of public opinion were in the direction of depriving the Church of the support which it had hitherto received from the State, it might not be unconstructive for persons in this country to realise the correlatives which he had mentioned.

Earl GRANVILLE had no objection to the production of the papers. No answer had been returned to the address.

The Earl of DERBY agreed with the right reverend prelate, that the address in question, and the proceedings connected with it, formed a not unconstructive lesson, and regretted that the right reverend prelate should have cordially supported the measure which gave the Legislature of Canada power to separate the Church from the State, by disavowing from it its endowments. (Hear, hear.) He (the Earl of Derby) was not responsible for having sanctioned that violation of the endowments of the Church.

The Bishop of OXFORD said his support of the act was based on the principle that this country should not make engagements with its colonies and afterwards break them. (Hear, hear.) What he assented to was not the spoliation of the Church, but the leaving to the colonists the settlement of their own concerns.

The Earl of DERBY said the act to which the right reverend prelate assented broke down the reservation with regard to the endowments, and enabled the Colonial Legislature to deal with them as they pleased.

The Bishop of OXFORD believed that that point had been previously concluded by a pledge given by Parliament.

THE VIENNA CONFERENCE.

In the House of Lords, on Friday, Earl GREY moved the following resolution:—

That an humble address be presented to Her Majesty, To thank Her Majesty for having ordered the protocols of the recent negotiations at Vienna to be laid before us;

To inform Her Majesty that this House deeply deplores the failure of the attempt to put an end by these negotiations to the calamities of the war in which the country is now engaged; and,

To express our opinion that the proposals of Russia were such as to afford a fair prospect of concluding a peace by which all the original objects of the war might have been gained, and by which Her Majesty and her allies might have obtained all the advantages which can reasonably be demanded from Russia.

In support of the motion, the noble Earl was for three hours and a half occupied in a review of the past—to show that the objects of the war had been obtained; that the Government had grievously erred in refusing the Russian terms; that there was great force in the arguments of Russia; that the wrongs inflicted by Turkey upon Russia were unbearable; that Prince Menshikoff's demands were most forbearing; that the war had not been produced by fraud on the part of Russia; and that, if Russia was wrong in invading the Principalities, we had also committed mistakes, for which we should ask indulgence. At the close of his speech, Lord Grey offered an elaborate apology for the conduct of the Emperor Nicholas; and, referring to the touching accounts of his last hours, said he could not believe that fraud and treachery were among his faults!

I have thought it my duty to state to your lordships my views upon this subject, in the hope that they may have some slight effect in mitigating that bitter spirit of hostility which is manifested in this country towards our antagonist. I cannot but believe that to wage an unnecessary war, or to wage a continual war which may have been just in the outset, for one hour after the cause of that war had ceased, is the greatest sin that can be committed; and in that sin I think every man, whatever his sphere of life may be, has a share, who wilfully neglects doing all that his condition in life affords him the opportunity to do in order to check that which is so contrary to the law of God.

The other speakers in the debate were the Earl of Clarendon, the Earl of Malmesbury, Lord Lyttleton, the Bishop of Oxford, the Duke of Newcastle, and the Earl of Derby. Among these, Lord LYTTLETON alone avowed opinions in accordance with those of Earl Grey—the opinions, he felt, of a minority in that House, and unpopular out of doors. The Bishop of OXFORD could not agree with Earl Grey, but he prayed their Lordships not to allow any language to pass unrebuked that would make a just and honourable peace more difficult of England's attainment.

The Duke of NEWCASTLE observed, with feelings of sincere pain, that Earl Grey's motion and speech would irritate the people of this country, lower us in the es-

timation of our allies and our enemy; and postpone the conclusion of peace far more effectually than the most violent declamation of the friends of war, by helping to raise a war-cry in the country that no Government can resist. In the Duke's estimation, the great objects for which we entered the contest have not been attained; and the counter-propositions of Russia give no assurance of security.

My Lords, I think when this nation is embarked in war, it is your bounden duty, to yourselves, to your country, but above all to posterity, not to allow that war to close in such a manner as that you will be exposed at an early day to its renewal—at a time, too, when you may not be able so well to thwart these endeavours, as I sincerely hope you may now be enabled to do. (Cheers.)

The Earl of DERBY said there was not a syllable in the speech of the Duke of Newcastle from which he could dissent. He maintained that it would be humiliation to withdraw from the contest baffled before the fortress of Sebastopol.

The Earl of CLARENDON, who spoke next after Lord Grey, met him with a close and pointed reply; the following paragraph is of the greatest interest:—

We now know what were the vast military resources of Russia, how stealthily they had been accumulated, and how readily they could be made available. We now know something of the almost incredible amount of warlike stores which had been accumulated in Sebastopol, where Russia had no commerce to protect, and we are also aware of the gigantic fortifications which were contemplated at Bomarsund. Why, Europe was really standing upon a mine without being aware of it, while the influence of Russia was so skilfully exercised as to paralyse both Governments and people, to render them unconscious of the danger to which they were exposed, and to diminish their ability to meet that danger. For this state of things every Government in Europe has been partly to blame, for during the last thirty-five years Russia has been allowed to interfere, to meddle, and to bribe, in different countries, without check. The encroachments of Russia were unheeded, although her designs had been suspected and denounced, but it was nobody's business to interfere, and no one wished to disturb the general peace until the mine which had been silently and slowly prepared was exploded by the rashness of Prince Menshikoff. (Hear, hear.) Long before this war began, the Russian Government ordered a large increase of their steam fleet, to the number of sixteen or seventeen ships of the largest size. Orders had been given for converting all the Russian men of war and ships of the line into screw steamers, and the Russian Government were also actively employed, and had been for a considerable time before the commencement of the war, in completing a system of railways. It is, I think, no exaggeration to say that the army of Russia—be it 800,000 men or upwards—would thus have been doubled in respect of efficiency by the rapidity with which it could have been removed to any point within or without the Russian territory, and with Constantinople and the Bosphorus in the hands of Russia, what would have been the fate of Europe, to say nothing of the countries bordering on the Black Sea, whether in Asia Minor or Europe, which, with the European provinces of Turkey, must have become as much dependencies of Russia as the Crimea itself? What, I say, would have been the fate of Europe when the Russian fleet was no longer locked up in the Black Sea, when Russia was in full possession of the Sound, and her northern fleets were no longer ice-bound for six months of the year? Why, all Europe would have fallen into the arms of this colossus. I may remind your Lordships that the very first act of the present Emperor of Russia was to declare his determination to raise Russia to the highest pinnacle of glory and power, and fully to carry out all the plans of Paul, of Catherine, and of Nicholas; and it is no very agreeable reflection that we were nearly on the point of seeing this scheme of national dominion realised. The policy of Russia has undergone no change. It is now precisely what it was twenty-five years ago, when it was most eloquently described by a noble member of your Lordships' House in these words: "Let it be remembered, that the Emperor of Russia only the other day proposed to place himself at the head of 800,000 men to give peace to Europe. Peace! What peace? The peace of the grave—the silence of death." That was the language of the late Earl Grey—(hear, hear)—and I think, if he could this night have heard the speech of my noble friend, it would have caused him deep and sincere pain.

The noble earl concluded in the following strain:—

But Russia still claims her right to be a standing menace to the Porte; she has refused to join her power in guaranteeing the independent existence of Turkey; she will not relieve the apprehensions of Europe with regard to the existence of the Ottoman empire, and she has no right to say that she has made great and important concessions, when the concessions which she has made have been merely to conciliate Austria and Germany with respect to the Danubian provinces. (Cheers.) Russia knows very well that her fleet is useless to her in the Black Sea, except as a menace to Turkey, though to gain her own ends upon the Ottoman empire that fleet is invaluable. Upon that account it is to the interest of England and France to limit the power of Russia, and if Russia does not intend to act in good faith she has no right to complain that the maritime Powers have refused to enter into terms for the cessation of hostilities. (Cheers.) I have not entered into any pledges, but I have endeavoured to state what are the views of Her Majesty's Government, and to point out what are the objects which they desired to accomplish throughout the negotiations which have taken place. I can only add that if it be our good fortune to restore to this country the blessings of peace, I trust it will be only such a peace as will meet with the approbation of your Lordships and of the country at large. (Hear.)

Earl GREY declined to divide the House, especially as more than one noble lord who would have voted for his motion was unavoidably absent. The motion was negatived without a division.

Before the debate on Earl Grey's motion closed, Earl GRANVILLE announced, that at this very moment proposals had been received from Austria, accompanied with modifications, which were at present under the consideration of the two Governments of France and England. But there was very little

chance—indeed, he might say there was no chance—of a favourable conclusion.

MISCELLANEOUS.

In the House of Lords, on Thursday, Lord HARDWICK called the attention of the Government to the report that Mr. Phinn had been appointed Under-Secretary to the Admiralty. He wished to know why a naval man was not appointed to this office. Lord GRANTVILLE said it was quite true that Mr. Phinn had received the appointment. He saw no reason why a civilian should not hold the office of Under-Secretary to the Admiralty, especially as it had been filled for a long time by the late Sir John Barrow, who was not a naval man.

Lord CANNING, on Thursday, moved the second reading of the Newspaper Stamp Bill, and enumerated the reasons which had induced the Government to bring forward the measure. Lord MONTAGUE opposed the repeal of the tax, as inopportune at a moment when additional taxes were being laid on the people in order to meet the expense of the war. Lord CANNING replied, and the bill was read a second time.

In the Commons, on Friday, in reply to Mr. Otway, Lord PALMERSTON stated that Lord Westmorland had been informed by General Hess that Count Coronini, the General commanding the Austrian troops in the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, had issued an order, which was not strictly equivalent to our martial law, since it applied only to the Austrian troops themselves, and to any persons detected in endeavouring to induce those troops to desert; that Lord Westmorland had inquired of the Austrian Government whether the order would apply to foreigners, and the answer was that it was not applicable to any foreigners in the Principalities.

In reply to Mr. DUNCOMBE, Lord PALMERSTON said he had no intention at present to propose any measure during this session with respect to the admission of Jews to Parliament. As regarded the measure respecting the reform of the City government, he had to say, that a bill of that nature was in preparation and under consideration, and he trusted that on an early day it would be introduced. Mr. T. DUNCOMBE gave notice that on a future day he should call the attention of the House to the anomalous state of the representation of the City of London, and submit a motion on the subject.

In answer to Mr. HANKEY, Mr. WILSON stated that arrangements had been made for the issue of passports to workmen and artisans, for the purpose of visiting Paris during the Great Exhibition. These passports would be available for one month from their date. Regulations were made for the purpose of enabling workmen to apply to the Foreign-office for the passports upon, he believed, the recommendation of the mayors of the towns to which they belonged, or, in the case of London, of the Lord Mayor, or of the Metropolitan Commissioner of Police. In country places, where there was no mayor, the recommendation of the superintendent registrar of the district would be required. The passports would be issued without expense.

In reply to Mr. EWART, Mr. PEEL stated that the first object in reference to the troops at Aldershot would be to teach them to act together in large bodies, but, concurrently with that primary object, he felt confident that the general in command would give instructions for the officers to instruct the troops so as to render them generally as efficient as possible. In reply to Mr. SCOTT, Mr. BOUVIER said that the President of the Board of Trade had the fullest intention on a very early day to bring in a bill to prevent railway accidents.

In reply to a question from Sir J. PAKINGTON, the SOLICITOR-GENERAL said that it was the intention of the Government to introduce the Church Discipline Bill on an early day after the recess. The progress of the Church Discipline Bill would depend wholly on the Testamentary Jurisdiction Bill, not from any connexion between the two subjects, because there was no connexion between them, but because there were certain arrangements made by the Testamentary Bill which were the basis of certain regulations in the other, so that the one bill could not proceed without the other. It had been decided to introduce a provision to establish a final court of appeal for the United Church of England and Ireland, and he certainly would be no party to any bill which did not contain a provision to that effect.

Mr. ADDERLEY said that, as he had prepared a bill to amend the Youthful Offenders Act, he wished to know when the Government intended to bring in a bill on the subject? Sir G. GREY said the bill would be introduced after Whitsuntide, but there would be no objection to the honourable member laying his bill on the table.

On Thursday, Sir W. CLAY moved that the House do go into committee on the Church-rate Abolition Bill, *pro forma*. Sir W. HEATMOTTE resisted the motion, on the ground that it would recognise the principle that the farther progress was to be unopposed. After some discussion, Sir W. CLAY withdrew the motion; and Friday, June 2, was appointed for the committee.

The following, in addition to many private bills, received the Royal assent on Friday: Income Tax Bill, Customs Duties Bill, Spirit, &c., Duties (Excise) Bill, Militia (Ireland) Bill, Intestacy (Scotland) Bill, Affirmations (Scotland) Bill, Alterations in Pleadings Bill, Parliamentary Representation (Scotland) Act Amendment Bill.

The notorious Tom Provis, alias "Sir Richard Hugh Smyth, Bart.," whose impudent attempt to grasp the Smyth property at Stapleton and Ashton must be remembered, died on Sunday afternoon in the infirmary of Dartmoor prison. He had been ailing for some time.

Postscript.

THE SIEGE OF SEBASTOPOL.

It is rumoured that another expedition may be expected shortly, inasmuch as the Sardinians are impatient to do something, and orders have been issued to our officers to provide themselves with the regulation number of bat animals. The Sardinians are accumulating at Balaklava daily. Two or three steamers arrive every four-and-twenty hours laden with those excellent and soldier-like troops. They land all ready for the field, with horses, carts, &c. Their transport cars are simple, strongly made, covered vehicles, not unlike a London bread-cart, painted blue, with the words "Armata Sarda," in black letters, and the name of the regiment to the service to which it belongs. The officers are well-mounted, and everyone admires the air and carriage of the troops, more especially of the "Bersaglieri" (Chasseurs), and the eye is attracted by their melodramatic head-dress—a bandit-looking hat, with a large plume of black cock's feathers in the side. The officers of the corps wear a plume of green ostrich feathers. General della Marmora and his staff have arrived, and Lord Raglan has received him with marked consideration. There must be at least 10,000 Sardinians in the Crimea at present. On Saturday and Sunday, the Generals had long conferences. Yesterday (the 14th), General Canrobert, General della Marmora, and Omar Pasha were also visitors at head-quarters, and the Turkish Generalissimo went over to Lord Raglan at an early hour this morning. All these interviews betoken, it is supposed, some movement on the part of the large army which is concentrated here, and there is a story going that the Sardinians are to move out into the plain, and occupy the old Turkish redoubts in front of Balaklava.—*Times Correspondent*.

It is now reported that a considerable force will be detached from the besieging army to operate in the direction of Simpheropol. Each man will carry eight days' provision in his pack, and eight days' provision more will be stored in the baggage waggons, so that the corps detached on this special service may remain for several days isolated from its basis of operations.—*Paris Correspondent of the Daily News*.

It appears by letters from Sebastopol, which have reached Vienna, that the services of the spies, of which Prince Gortschakoff makes so much use, are not an unmixed advantage. The Tartars, Croats, and Greeks, who contrive to pass between the camps, tell others besides the General of the abundance of our resources, the facility of our provisioning, the certain approach of reinforcements, and the calm confidence of our soldiers. These, thanks to Prince Gortschakoff, are matter of stealthy depressing conversation among the Russian common soldiers, with whom, after all, the defence of the Crimea must rest. The march of the Allies on the Tchernaya transpires as the subject of expectation in private letters from the Russian camp, as early as the 7th instant. The return of the first expedition from Kertch, we learn in the same way, did not raise the spirits of the Russians in proportion to the depression which it wrought in our men, for the trip was regarded as a demonstration of our superabundance of force, as well as of the ease with which the Russian territory could be menaced. The preparations made for the interior and ultimate defence of Sebastopol have produced an unfavourable impression upon the garrison. Until these last few weeks the troops believed their officers, who assured them that the French and English, hemmed in on all sides, and weakened by privation and disease, were really the besieged, and were destined, upon the arrival of enormous reinforcements from Perekop, to be driven into the sea. The renewed bombardment, and the infantry attacks in front of the Central and Quarantine Bastions, as well as the near approach of the French to the Flagstaff Bastion, have dissipated this delusion, and the mass of the troops have lapsed into moody sullenness and distrust.

Advices from Sebastopol of the 26th, state that Miss Nightingale is convalescent.

The *Moniteur* of yesterday announces that the Minister of the Marine and of the Colonies has received from Vice-Admiral Bruat a despatch to the following effect:—

SEA OF AZOFF, May 25.

Our expedition has perfectly succeeded. The batteries on the coast at Kertch and Yenikalé are in our power.

The Russians burnt three of their steamers, and some thirty transports and trading vessels. As many were captured.

In the evening we entered the Sea of Azoff. The Russians burnt their magazines at Kertch, which contained 160,000 sacks of oats, 360,000 sacks of corn, and 100,000 sacks of flour.

THE BALTIC.

Letters from St. Petersburg of the 18th instant state that it has become highly probable that a meeting will shortly take place between the Czar Alexander II. and the King of Prussia.

The Governor-General of the capital has issued orders that no one is to visit Cronstadt, except provided with the permission of the superior authorities expressed in writing.

A letter from Nargen, near Revel, dated May 22, says:—

The body of the British fleet are still at anchor on this place. On the 20th the Duke of Wellington returned from Faro Sund, having landed forty-eight sick of small-pox, including their commander, Freedy. Since her arrival fresh cases have continued to break out. On her passage here she picked up the Orion and brought her in company. Arrogant still continues at Faro,

superintending her small-pox cases on shore at the hospital, and doing duty as senior authority at that port, with the Ajax and Blenheim still there.

The disposition of the fleet is as yet somewhat similar to last year, this being the head-quarters, the screws watching Helsingfors and the mouth of the Gulf. This duty has been performed by the *Rak*, *Comack*, and *Amphion*—diminished by *Impérieuse* and *Tartar*, gone to England for repairs on account of serious damages in running foul of each other. The *Archer* and *Geyser* have been guarding the Gulf of Riga, assisted by *Basiliak* and *Desperate*, and have made some capital seizures, all sent home upon reference to the admiral, consisting of some twenty vessels, filled principally with flax, hemp, linseed oil, and rye, which will give the captors some 30,000*l*. There are a few Russian, and of course good prizes. All the others are principally neutrals, and clearly took their cargoes in after the announcement of the blockade. The admiral has reconnoitred in the *Merlin*, *Helsingfors*, *Barosund*, and *Revel*.

The vessels exercise daily, firing at targets, only five miles from the enemy's guns. We greatly fear, if Revel is not soon bombarded, we shall have the large battery coming out to attack us. The officers from the different ships go on shore every day on the island of Narren, to play cricket and walk about. It is authentically reported, that on the return of the Commander-in-Chief in the Duke of Wellington, the fleet will go to Hogland, or Nyborg, have a look at Cronstadt, and then return by the arrival of the troops to attack Swaborg. The season is now sufficiently far advanced to commence operations, and not leave things to the last moment.

At Selestadt, the place of rendezvous for the Anglo-Swiss legion, 1,100 recruits have already assembled, and it is probable that the 3,000 Swiss calculated on will soon be enrolled.

The Submarine Telegraph now connects Eupatoria with Balaklava and Kamiesch, as well as with Yarna and the general European telegraphic system.

According to a return from Lord Raglan, published in last night's *Gazette*, there are 10 officers, and 180 privates, prisoners in the hands of the Russians. The Russian officers who have been taken prisoners by the British are 45, of privates 746; of whom 87 are Poles.

Orders have been issued for the immediate embarkation of the 6th Dragoon Guards (Carbineers). The 94th Regiment of Foot, under the command of Lieut-Colonel Dennis, now in garrison at Windsor, have received orders to prepare for embarkation on the 15th of next month.

There are at present no fewer than 137 recruiting parties stationed in the metropolis, in addition to the establishment in Duke-street, Westminster. The estimated number of recruits obtained within the metropolitan district exceeds 500 weekly.

It is stated from Constantinople that General Vivian is organising a camp of 25,000 men in the plain of Unkar Skelessi.

The law for abolishing religious corporations in Piedmont, as amended by the Senate, was accepted by the Chamber of Deputies on the 28th instant, by a majority of 72.

A serious disturbance occurred at Vigevano, Piedmont, on the 20th, occasioned by a procession in honour of the Immaculate Conception, which was received with disapprobation by a large portion of the population. To groans and hisses succeeded missiles.

The *Espana*, of the 23rd states, on the authority of letters from Rome, that the Papal Court considers the carrying into effect of the bill for the sale of ecclesiastical property a violation of the Concordate, and that it consequently contemplated breaking off relations with Spain and publishing protests against the measure.

The occupation of Galatz, and an attack upon Ismail and Reni, are confidently spoken of.

A bill nullifying the Fugitive Slave Law passed to a third reading in the Massachusetts Senate on the 10th.

Five line-of-battle ships that had been stationed at Swaborg were removed before the frost to Cronstadt, and a large part of the gunboats sent from Swaborg to Rotsensalm.

On Saturday week, Prince Menschikoff arrived in St. Petersburg, from Moscow, and the next day had an audience of the Emperor.

Colonel Kinney has been arrested at Philadelphia, and held to bail in 4,500 dol., on a charge of violating the neutrality laws.

Last night, a public meeting of the inhabitants of the Borough of Lambeth was held at the Horns Tavern, Kennington, for the purpose of adopting measures in co-operation with the Central Administrative Reform Association, to effect an entire alteration in the present system of representation and administration. Mr. Ellington occupied the chair. The meeting was addressed by M. Chamerovzou, J. P. Murrough, Esq., M.P., Mr. Francis Bennock, Deputy Chairman of the Association, Mr. Frederick Doulton, Mr. Henry James Slack, Mr. Thomas Webber, and several other gentlemen; and resolutions to the effect that a prompt and peaceful reformation of all administrative abuses can only be brought about by a wide extension of the suffrage and the vote by ballot were adopted.

We are authorised, says the *South-Eastern Gazette*, to state that Mr. J. Whitman, M.P. for Maidstone, and Mr. Charles Wykeham Martin, of Leeds Castle, have consented to become candidates for the representation of the county of Kent, in the Liberal interest, at the next general election.

CORN-EXCHANGE, MARK-LAWS, Wednesday, May 30.

Our trade to-day firm at Monday's rates. Arrivals this week.—Wheat, English, 1,180 qrs; foreign, 19,520 qrs. Barley, English, 1,740 qrs; foreign, 2,700 qrs. Oats, English, 60 qrs; Irish, 1,950 qrs; foreign, 24,340 qrs. Flour, English, 640 qrs; Irish —; foreign, 2,320 sacks, 760 barrels.

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The Nonconformist.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 30, 1855.

SUMMARY.

THE past week has removed a thick fog from the political horizon. It opened with rumours of divided councils in Her Majesty's Government, with the chances of continued negotiation, through the medium of Austria, with desponding statements of the movements of the Allies in the Crimea, including the return of the expedition to Kertch, and ended with clear and definite information on almost every point connected with the war. Lord Palmerston assured the Liberal members on Thursday that he and his colleagues met them as a "united Cabinet." The tone of the Ministerial speeches on Thursday and Friday renders unnecessary any official declaration that further negotiation is for the present hopeless, and that the war party is in the ascendant. Indeed, this determination to carry on the war with vigour is the great parliamentary revelation of the week. The recognised advocates of peace, Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright, took no part in the debate or division, although their ground was to a great extent occupied by Mr. Gladstone, Sir J. Graham, and others, with such effect that the Earl of Malmesbury and the *Times* congratulate the country that the Peelites are no longer in office to carry on a war of which they disapprove. In the Lords, the current of opinion has been more strongly exhibited. Earl Grey's pacific resolution, though supported in a speech of over three hours' duration, failed to convince more than one Peer. His lordship found himself condemned alike by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Prime Minister apparent, and the head of the Peelite section in the Upper House. It is remarkable that while Mr. Gladstone pleaded with such earnestness the cause of peace and the reasonableness of the terms proposed by Russia, the Duke of Newcastle urged a vigorous prosecution of hostilities, now that all negotiation had failed. A few days have materially altered the political "situation." Lord Palmerston has been "raised in a single week, and that absolutely against his will, from a position all but desperate to one of considerable power." Himself and Lord John Russell have broken with the Peelites and their policy, and by their warlike declarations, have rendered unnecessary the moving of Mr. Lowe's outspoken amendment.

Nor is it at home alone that the flood-tide is "making" for the Palmerston Cabinet. Events in the Crimea are conspiring to give his administration that external support and *éclat* which it does not intrinsically possess. There, also, the horizon is clearing. Scarcely has the murmur of discontent at the recal of the expedition to Kertch subsided on the ear, than we learn that the Sea of Azoff is in our possession, the batteries of Kertch and Yenikalé blown up, all the Russian stores at that great military dépôt destroyed, three of their war steamers burnt, and a number of vessels and fifty guns in the hands of the Allies. By this successful operation, the Sea of Azoff and the whole south-eastern portion of the Russian Empire is closed, the communication with Circassia greatly interrupted, and the Russian armies in the Crimean peninsula threatened on their flank. So greatly are the advantages of this expedition magnified, that its omission up to the present time seems an unaccountable blunder. Still, the achievement is but one item of the news from the Crimea. General Pelissier has signalled his appointment to the chief command of the French army by an offensive movement of great importance. On the successive nights of the 22nd and the 23rd, he carried a considerable intrenchment between the Central Bastion and the Quarantine Fort. We have but the meagre report of the submarine telegraph to rely upon, but the sanguinary nature of the contest may be judged by the admission of Prince Gortschakoff, that 2,500 Russians were lost "in driving back the enemy." But, in point of fact, the loss of the defendants was twice that number; while the French still occupy their intrenched position, and are preparing new breaching batteries within one hundred metres of the fortress. On the right, also, the Allies have resumed operations. They have crossed the Tchernaya, which river is now within their

lines. "The enemy not being in force," says General Pelissier, "made very little resistance, and speedily retired to the mountains." Possibly too much has been made of this unopposed forward movement of General Bosquet. The river Tchernaya is not a convenient line of defence, but it is likely that a strong Russian force is concentrated behind the ridges which rise towards the north, and are fortified by strong redoubts. In this strong intrenched position they are no doubt prepared to oppose the progress of the Allies, and dispute with them the possession of heights which would enable them to complete the investment of Sebastopol. Though there is just now too strong a tendency to depreciate the military power of the Russians, there is good reason to believe the numbers and resources of the Allies are so superior, that decisive results may be expected from the present campaign.

The Government continues to compete with the London Tavern Association. An Order in Council ordains that future candidates for junior offices in the civil service, shall be examined as to their age, health, character, and attainments,—except in the case of persons whom the chief of a department may choose to appoint on his own responsibility. The reserve is not altogether objectionable, since authority to deviate from routine is of the essence of administrative reform: it is good or bad according to the spirit in which it is used. But it is not a good omen of the spirit in which the present chiefs of department will use it, that the examination does not open to public competition the offices in question. The candidates must, as before, have been presented by an influential friend. Political patronage, the root of inefficiency in the departments, is untouched—in fact, extended; since every nominee rejected leaves one more presentation in the gift of the patrons. Nor does it appear that the examination is to be conducted openly—a guarantee of impartiality which we cannot afford to dispense with, even though the name of Romilly be on the list of judges.

The Association is not likely to be damaged, then, by the rivalry it has stimulated. The public meetings,—strictly spontaneous, it appears, in their origin,—in Southwark and Lambeth, Bristol and Gloucester—to which Marylebone will, to-morrow, be added—have not only affirmed the necessity of administrative reform, but have extended the significance of the phrase, and presented an alternative from which neither the Government nor the Association can escape. The city of Bath is to pronounce from the hustings on the question. The late member, Mr. Phinn, having terminated his brief parliamentary career at the goal of small ambitions, Mr. Whately, also Q.C., aspires to succeed him; but the Association offers its deputy chairman, Mr. Tite, as the right man for that place.

The Bishop of Oxford, and the Archbishop of Dublin, officiating at the Royal Literary Fund dinner yesterday week, intruded upon the company a defence of their State-Churchism—even at the table of a society whose founder their Church held excommunicate. On Monday evening, however, the Bishop proposed, at the Royal Geographical Society's anniversary, the award of the gold medal to Dr. Livingston, the missionary who has been the first of the many African adventurers to succeed in passing from the south-east to the west of that great unknown land; and the grateful tribute was received by Dr. Tidman, on behalf of his "friend and helper."

The Paris Exhibition—to visit which English workmen may have passports free of charge—has not yet emerged from the disorder of an unready opening; and the Emperor, besides paying for one day's free admission per week for the whole public, is understood to intend taking the entire concern into his own hands;—that is to say, further to cripple the beautiful France whose fetters he has double-weighted, he punishes her helplessness by superseding her awkward activity.—The Sardinian Convents Suppression Bill has reached its final stage,—to the great joy of the people and anger of the priests.—An incipient Carlist insurrection at Saragossa, is the latest item of Spanish news; preceded by indications of a semi-despotic policy on the part of the new constitutional government.

NOTES FROM THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

"Business first, and pleasure afterwards," is one of the prudential maxims of common life. Parliament reverses it—allows no interference with its pastimes, and suffers the veriest trifle to come between it and its discharge of a serious duty. As if to qualify itself for pronouncing its solemn verdict on the question of peace and war, to deepen its sense of awful responsibility, and to disperse from its soul all the mists, generated by prejudice and passion, which might obscure the outlook of its conscience, and involve, perhaps, the precious lives of thousands upon thousands of human beings, Parliament adjourns from New

Palace-yard to Epsom Downs, and religiously keeps a Derby-day in preparation for a discussion and decision which may influence the fate of Europe for a century to come. The priesthood of Pagan Rome were wont to draw prophetic wisdom from the flight of birds—our statesmen, the political priesthood of the empire, fit themselves for counsel at a great conjuncture, by observing the pace of horses—and, with copious libations of champagne, they watch as keenly and with as much excitement the progress of the equine contest, as if Providence had linked together by some invisible tie the fortune of "the favourite" with the destinies of their country.

It is a national calamity that, at a crisis of public affairs pregnant with inconceivably momentous consequences, the representative branch of the British Legislature should be under the practical guidance and control of heartless triflers—of men who seem utterly incapable of comprehending the seriousness of the times in which they live, and who, were Rome in flames, would still continue to fiddle. In face of the appalling fact, that the present war has already, within less than two short years, devoured its half million of victims, and of the probability that, within less than that time, it will prematurely cut short the earthly career of as many more, it is melancholy that the chiefs of political opinion in this country, in whose hands mainly rests the alternative of peace or war, of life or death, cannot bring to the deliberation of so tremendous a question, souls purified by the gravity of the occasion from all personal and party influences, and that, like pickpockets at a fire, they watch the great European conflagration, with no higher apparent object than that of turning the confusion to the account of themselves or their party. The case, however, very nearly approximates to this. *Charlatanerie* has seated itself on the summit of constitutional power to play tricks there while the storm rages below, and clever actors have got the management of our affairs at a time when the portentous magnitude of events craves being dealt with by the soul of a prophet.

Sorry we are that such reflections as the above should be a fitting prelude to a description of the "great debate." But such is the fact. To pass on directly to Mr. Disraeli's opening speech, is but, as it were, a continuation of this strain of remark. The orator had before him a splendid opportunity. What would not such a man as Charles James Fox have made of it? What would not Burke have done with it? How would the first have kindled into manly resentment, and the last have become inspired with philosophic wisdom! What depth of heart would not the one, and majesty of intellect would not the other, have revealed! Now, read Disraeli's speech, reported in the daily journals, nearly verbatim, and observe with what impression you rise from the perusal. Is it in keeping with the occasion? Does it serve to elevate the tone of your patriotism? You will have met with some able criticism, several dexterous party hits, strains of pungent sarcasm, and here and there a flash of humour. But there is neither light to guide, nor fire to warm you. You are not better informed than before—you are not raised into a better temper. Your tone of feeling seems to have closer reference to the performance of the orator, than to the bearings of his subject. But this unsatisfactory result is still more perceptible when, instead of being a reader, you are a listener. For Mr. Disraeli's manner forbids all thought of his being in earnest. There is too much art in it to consist with sincerity of soul—too little to conceal itself. His style, too, is degenerating into verbosity and tediousness. He appears to study length rather than brevity. Professions of virtue come from him as a jest. He is great in anatomising a rival, but he goes through even that operation with a sardonic grin. On the whole, the effect produced upon you by his *great* speeches is disagreeable. You have witnessed a performance where you would rather have felt the pressure of a reality. On Thursday evening, Mr. Disraeli had a crowded House, and a magnificent subject. He spoke for two hours and a half, and was cheered by his claqueurs—but we much question whether, when he sat down, any member felt himself better qualified than before to pronounce judgment on the question at issue.

Whatever may be advanced against Mr. Gladstone—for Sir Francis Baring, who moved the amendment, we need not speak—he has the air, at least, of a sincere man. Perhaps he is not always candid. Peradventure he is too fond of splitting hairs. But he seldom leaves you in doubt as to what course he is prepared to take, always gives you plausible reasons for that course, and never allows you to call in question his conscientiousness. He is now an advocate for concluding peace. He was preceded, on Thursday evening, by Sir W. Heathcote, his colleague in the representation of Oxford University, who, in a calm, unpretending, but sensible speech, drew the outline of argument which Mr.

Gladstone afterwards filled in, and who proved himself the worthy esquire of the redoubtable knight. Mr. Gladstone's eloquence resembles the course of a majestic river—it is full and flowing—stagnant, it is true—but always rolling onward to the chosen point. On this occasion he laboured against the prevailing feeling of the House and the country. But he did not flinch from his convictions of duty. He proved that all the original objects of the war had been accomplished, and he solemnly warned the country against the criminality of continuing so dire a calamity for the sake of military success. He wound up with a peroration of immense power, and resumed his seat respected, we should think, by his bitterest opponents.

Lord John Russell, whose nose, as plenipotentiary at Vienna, Mr. Disraeli had tweaked with a severity bordering on the ferocious, concealed his pain at the moment of its infliction under the shadow of his broad-brimmed hat, and when he rose, by addressing the first portion of his speech to the argument of Mr. Gladstone rather than to the invectives of the Member for Buckinghamshire. He spoke like a man who had tried to do something striking and had egregiously failed. Nevertheless, Lord John is not a man to lose confidence in himself. Of course, what he had proposed at the Conference was wisely proposed—what he had rejected was wisely rejected. But inasmuch as he had failed to conclude a peace, it behoved the country to nerve itself for a continuance of the war. It was, therefore, Lord John's cue to light up afresh the bellicose passions of his countrymen. To this end, he drew a frightful picture of Russia's power, and Russian encroachments. The small-soiled patriot, after having tried a retreat at Vienna, and tried to no purpose, because unskillfully, snatched up his bugle, and sounded an advance. It would have had more effect if his character had been less known and appreciated—but the passion for Lord John survives now only in the breasts of some dozen or score of his *quondam* colleagues. The speech of Thursday was a decided failure.

Mr. Whiteside led off the adjourned debate on Friday with a brilliant speech boisterously delivered. The hon. and learned member is coarse in his vituperations, and outrageous in gesticulation; but he has a ready, penetrating, robust, athletic intellect. His manner spoils his matter. He bawls and buffets, buffets and bawls, as if he had nothing reflective in his nature—which is far from being the case. He is like a windmill in a gale of wind—he makes the air resound with his fury—also the box before him, which he thumps unmercifully. He acted as lieutenant to Disraeli, and he did his part well. Mr. Gladstone was his object of attack, and he certainly laid bare all the weak points in that right honourable gentleman's course. We shall not follow the other speakers at any length. Mr. Lowe, Mr. Cayley, Mr. Roundell Palmer, and Lord Stanley—all spoke well—especially the last, who supported Mr. Disraeli's motion, as he himself expressed it, "in the interests of peace." Mr. Layard threw most information into the debate, and there is some in his recommendation to abandon all protectorates in relation to the Christian subjects of the Porte. Lord Palmerston's speech was a counterpart of Dizzy's—as clever, as well acted, and as hollow. As an argument it had little force—as a party reply it was chiefly a *tu quoque*. But Disraeli's rejoinder was worse than his opening speech—crammed with tedious repetitions. It was listened to with undisguised impatience by some—it was eagerly avoided by others who took refuge in the lobbies or elsewhere. The division followed, when the numbers announced were—Ayes, 219; Noes, 319; Majority against Mr. Disraeli's resolution, 100.

And now came a snatch of real excitement. On Sir F. Baring's amendment being put as a substantive motion, Mr. Lowe moved the insertion in it of words which would indicate the warlike determination of Parliament, and close the door of negotiation against Russia. Mr. Gibson thereupon moved the adjournment of the debate to Monday week, which Lord Palmerston resisted. Sir James Graham then rose, and in a few sentences showed that the real question at issue, the question of peace and war, remained to be discussed and decided, and the speech of Lord John Russell, he said, had placed the state of our relations with Russia on an entirely new footing. The ground of the war, in fact, had been changed, and it was merging into a war of nationalities. This called up Lord John, who declared that the only meaning of his speech was that the object of the war, beyond the immediate defence of Turkey from the aggression committed by Russia, was security for Turkey for the future. "Oh," exclaims Disraeli, "you have no sooner got your majority than you recant your oration—and give us a second edition of the Sebastopol speech." It was preposterous to attempt going on with the debate, or rather commencing another, and still more important one, at three o'clock

in the morning. The question was asked, whether the motion for the adjournment of the House till Monday week, carried at an early part of the evening, might not be rescinded—but the Speaker said it was without precedent to rescind a resolution on the same night on which it had been affirmed. At length Lord Palmerston gave way, and Mr. Gibson's motion was put and agreed to.

THE QUESTIONS AT ISSUE.

In the great debate whose commencement properly dates from Monday evening, and whose termination can hardly be expected so soon as Monday next, though it may seem to have been inspired by partisanship and degraded by personalities, two all-important questions were distinctly raised—first, on what terms, or in what spirit, do we resume the war with Russia? secondly, to whose hands shall we assign its conduct? The former is the question on which Mr. M. Gibson proposed to take the decision of the House of Commons—the latter that on which Mr. Disraeli got an earlier hearing, and an unwelcome answer.

We do not regret the order of the discussion. If the men with whom the nation has to deal for the official transaction of affairs, were men of consistent profession and reliable faith, a decision on the first question would naturally carry with it a decision on the second. A vote on either resolution would be a vote of confidence or no-confidence in the Government of the day, and a change of Ministers would proclaim a change of policy. But we have to do with two sets of politicians, equally destitute of avowed principle or plan of action. In every debate on the war since its commencement, differing views have been announced, not only from the same benches, but from the same men on the same night. It was, therefore, quite to be expected that Lords Palmerston and Russell would accommodate themselves, in the course of any new debate, to the circumstances or the caprices of the moment—disavowing the "shutting of the door upon peace" if they were reproached with so doing; preaching a new crusade against Russia, if that would better fit the temper of the occasion. Nothing, then, could be more just and appropriate, in itself, than a resolution censuring their "ambiguity of language and uncertainty of conduct." It was required not only for purposes of retrospective justice, but of future security. Until the House of Commons had made sure that its determination for war or peace would be carried out, in the spirit of honest concurrence, based on individual conviction, it was of little use either to approve or condemn the rejection of Russia's counter-proposition on the third point. If the author of the resolution of Thursday night were himself only less ambiguous and uncertain, Parliamentary casuistry could scarcely have devised for independent representatives a justification for voting in the negative.

The advocacy of a resolution thus framed must necessarily partake strongly of the nature of a personal attack. It was the whine of an unconstitutional habit of irresponsibility, as well as of a coward shrinking from the lash of the censor, that drew from Lord John the complaint—Mr. Disraeli has degraded the debate. Some one—at the most, some one or two—must be singled out for proof of the charges laid against a dozen or twenty. As Lord John had been, since the opening of the war, either leader of the Commons or Plenipotentiary at the Conference, it was unavoidable that his language and conduct should come under review. His words make up almost exclusively the domestic history of the war. He had a principal share in the preliminary correspondence—he moved the response of the Commons to the Royal message—he united the God of Battles and the spirit of Rule Britannia in one fanatical invocation—he inflamed public feeling at home, and complicated the difficulty abroad, by a melo-dramatic description of the power and perfidy of the Czar—he promised the Commons of England, in Committee of Supply, the reduction of Sebastopol—he went about the provinces saying we had gone to war under "a double delusion" as to the relative strength of our antagonist and our ally—and he went to Vienna, pledged, if to anything, either to conclude a peace with Russia, or to secure Austria as an ally. It is childish folly for the man who has done all these contradictory things, and who, to climax their incongruity, justifies his descent from his old Parliamentary position to within a chalk-line of Russia's concessions, by reproducing, with added effect, his former exhibition of Russian mischievousness—it is a puerile affectation of innocence in him to pretend that there is nothing at issue but a question of rival policies. It is possible that if Lord John, or his present chief, Lord Palmerston—who differs from him in nothing but in being frivolously instead of solemnly arrogant—have a foreign policy, it differs little or nothing from Mr. Disraeli's. But until the comparison be fairly made, it is enough for Lord John to know, that whether the Layard-and-Lowe or the Glad-

stone-and-Gibson resolution express the feeling of the country, he comes out of the debate stripped of every pretence to the distinction of a statesman bent on lofty war, or of a diplomatist skilful and earnest in the achievement of peace.

Nevertheless, the House of Commons has resolved, that it will not take from these painted hands the conduct of conjoint diplomatic and military operations, until it sees to what better hands they can be confided. It passes on to settle the objects and temper of the renewed conflict. It is invited to declare, on the one hand, that the rupture of negotiations is the fault of Russia, and that we must go on fighting till her spirit be subdued—on the other hand, that we have yet hope in the negotiations, and will prosecute the war for no new objects. While its decision is yet in the indefinite future, and may be affected by the voice of the country itself, we again urge that no sufficient reason—no purpose at all commensurate with the evils of continued conflict—can be found for saying "aye" to the former of these propositions. In what sense can it be put down as the *fruit* of our enemy, that we have not come to terms with him? Without abating in the least our oft-repeated condemnation of the acts by which Russia provoked this war, and stained its earlier chapters, we contend that by the fact of consenting to negotiate, we recognise her right to object to the terms that may be offered, and to substitute others. Did we expect, when we sent Lord John to Vienna, that Prince Gortschakoff would off-hand sign his name to every article, and every clause of every article, presented? Is it just to attribute to a desire to procrastinate military operations his assent to our first two propositions—especially as we too had the same advantage in the delay, and seem to have improved it? And is there any slighter difference on which we could part than this from which Lord John recoiled—"faint and staggering under the burden of exhausted instructions." Well, then, granting, for the moment, that we have a right to enlarge the objects of war, if its successes enable us so to do,—what are the new and better objects for which we are henceforth to fight with a relentless determination—a resolve that will not let us take pity even on ourselves? Do they comprise the liberation of the nationalities, the dismemberment of Russia and Finland, the restoration of a Tartar dynasty in the Crimea, or even the independence of the Principality? Not at all! If any of these things were insinuated in the war manifesto of our baffled pacificator, the insinuation was disavowed as soon as it had done its work. Is it with or without Austria we are to go on with the war? a more immediately practical demand than that which Mr. Gladstone based upon the "melancholy and degraded condition of the Italian capital." Only on Monday last we were told by the Premier, that any proposition, on the part of Russia, submitted by Austria, would receive the "most favourable consideration." And, moreover, should our latest snipe-shots prove correct—should it turn out that Louis Napoleon, and his English adviser, are coquetting with the aristocratic fragment of the Polish emigration—disowned by their fellow-countrymen while the last struggle was yet pending—with the view to add yet another contingent to our motley host—will such treacherous prepense be sanctioned by a people who know, or ought to know, that the freedom of Poland cannot be conquered in the Crimea, nor even at the straits of Kertch? We fall back, then, on our former position. A great war for a little object, is a great crime. Entrenching ourselves in the strength of our convictions and the consciousness of our integrity against the ignorant or wicked clamour that denounces us as Anti-English all whose voice is for peace, we declare our belief that nothing is to be gained, either to Turkey or to Europe at large, by the continuance of a conflict, all whose supposed objects were abandoned from the beginning, and whose real objects are sufficiently attained.

OUR NEW CONQUEST.

THE curtain has risen on a new, and not unpleasant, scene, on the Crimean stage. The expedition lately despatched from Kamiesch to Kertch, and recalled, has repaired thither again, and attained a success similar to that of the landing at Eupatoria. The enemy retreated with precipitation, blowing up his fortifications, burning his ships and magazines, and abandoning to us the straits and town of Kertch.

It is so long since we have had occasion to look at the map of the Crimea, that the reader may require to be told whereabouts is our new foothold, on that indescribably irregular peninsula. On the eastern side of the Crimea, then, in latitude 45 degrees, north, is a nearly circular promontory of Kaffia, varying in width from ten to thirty miles. The straits which divide its shore from the shore of Asia, are about twenty miles in length, and vary

from eight miles to one mile in width. It is a region which mythology, poetry, and history made famous, long before the oldest of the existing States of Europe was in being. It is here that was supposed to reign that everlasting darkness which we call Cimmerian. It was the opposite peninsula, Taman, whose volcanic mountain probably vomited the stream of fire which became the Pyriphlegeton of the nether world. The very mouth of Hades was the fall of the deep river Oceanus into the unexplored gulfs where now rides our triumphant squadron. The scene of the voyage of Ulysses is transferred, on no improbable grounds, from the neighbourhood of Sicily to the terror-stricken shore of Cimmeria—only a day's sail from the residence of Circe. The camp and tomb of the great Mithridates, King of Pontus, are supposed to be commemorated by a mound just in the rear of our landing-place; and if this local belief be true, it was from the scene of Sir George Brown's easy victory, that Cæsar despatched to Rome the news of a similar success—"Veni, vidi, vici." The Panticapæon of Strabo, undoubtedly, occupied the site of Kertch. Three thousand years ago Indian civilisation flourished where Greek poets had described a supernatural darkness. But the Indian succumbed to the Roman, and the Greek carried his arts and commerce to the extremest of Roman conquests. The ruins of an Acropolis still crown the summit of the hills in the rear of the crescent-shaped bay, and are reached by "a splendid flight of stone steps." A broken Apollo, his cheek tinged with the faint red by which the Greek sculptor completed the simulation of life, lies prostrate among fallen columns of pure white marble; massive sarcophagi, long since rifled of the "elegantly carved coffins of cedar wood" they were intended to preserve—Etruscan vases of porcelain—light glass vessels—and human skulls; only the remnants of a precious archaeological collection, transferred to St. Petersburg. To the Greek succeeded the Russian—for, early as the time of Vladimir, a Grand Duke was master here; and his allies, or tributaries, the Cossacks, vexed the Byzantine monarch in his palace on the Bosphorus. The Genoese restored the Crimea to civilisation, and at Kaffa—sixty miles south-west of Kertch—had a colony, in the thirteenth century, of a hundred thousand inhabitants; not far from the Theodosia which flourished as the capital of a Cherson Republic in the first century of the Christian era. The fall of Constantinople, shook the prosperity of Kaffa, and it surrendered at last to the same conqueror, who transferred much of its population and wealth to his own desolated capital, and abandoned the remainder to the still more barbarous Tartars, who ruined it beyond the power of future Sultans to repair.

Catherine and her successors rebuilt Kaffa and Theodosia, and founded Kertch. The former has suffered commercially from the rival city of Odessa; but the last-named threatens to eclipse Taganrog. When the German traveller, Koch,* was there, a year or two since, he counted fifty vessels in the harbour,—found, "for the first time, after a long deprivation, an hotel managed in the German fashion,"—estimated the population at about ten thousand,—admired the mixture of Italian with Russian architecture, in its houses "all of stone,"—and looked out towards the north upon a "boundless gray steppe." The salt that colours and impoverishes the soil, and is manufactured from the neighbouring lagoons, is the almost exclusive export of Kertch; but further to the north, and on either side, beyond and around the Sea of Azof, stretch other "boundless steppes," yielding rich harvests of corn, which have to be re-shipped at Kertch for the southern ports on account of the shallowness of the straits—or, more probably, artificial impediments placed there by the Government of the late Emperor, in his short-sighted eagerness to stimulate the local trade.

The importance of this conquest to greater successes in the Crimea is so obvious, that satisfaction at its accomplishment is divided with wonder that it should have been so long delayed; if, indeed, the wonder is not rather that the whole scheme of operations should have been so uniformly defective. Perekop and Kertch are the two arteries, by which alone an army in the Crimea can be fed. To have cut either or both of these, at the commencement of the campaign, would have been to draw a cord about the neck of the army of Sebastopol. Perekop is so far distant from Sebastopol, that the siege and the blockade could not have been carried on together, with the forces hitherto at our command. But the arsenals and granaries of Kertch are so near that the ring of the armoured hammer, and the roll of provision waggons, might almost have been heard in the camp of the Allies. We have now, however, not only deprived the enemy of this resource, but also opened to ourselves a road into the interior of his country, and even upon his peninsular capital and

camp—Simpheropol and Batchki Serai—which have now Omar Pasha upon the one side and Sir George Brown upon the other. The interruption of the commerce of the sea of Azof, moreover, will be felt far into the European provinces, of the empire; and may thus diffuse tidings of disaster, which couriers, conveying the news of defeat, might carry to the Emperor alone.

THE DIVISION OF SATURDAY MORNING.

The division which followed the great debate of Thursday and Friday did not exhibit many of those "crosses" which have frequently prevailed of late. The meeting at the Treasury on Friday appears to have succeeded in its object of uniting the bulk of the Liberal party, not so much in support of Government, as in opposition to the "no confidence" resolution of Mr. Disraeli. Very few notables appear to have been absent on the occasion. Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright were the great exceptions. The Dissenting members (with the exception of Mr. E. Ball, who was absent) appear to have unanimously voted against the motion of the honourable member for Bucks. Even Mr. Macanlay seems to have so far revived his Parliamentary interest as to pair off in favour of Ministers. The Peelite members—Sir J. Graham, Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Cardwell—were in the majority, as were also Mr. Lowe, Mr. Lindsay, Mr. Layard, and the eccentric Henry Drummond. Mr. John McGregor, the member for Glasgow, seems to have found his way into the Opposition lobby, as did several Irishmen, who sit on Opposition benches, such as Mr. Duff, Mr. Lucas, and Mr. Maguire. Sir W. Heathcote, Sir J. Acland, and Mr. Deedes, also swelled the majority, though not ministerial supporters. The absentees on the Tory side included the Marquis of Granby, Sir John Walsh, and Lord John Manners—the latter probably absent by reason of his brother's death.

The vote having thus been rather against a Derbyite Administration than in favour of the Palmerston Government, it remains to be seen whether the second edition of the debate to be produced on Monday next on the respective amendments of Sir W. Heathcote and Mr. Lowe, will raise that issue. More probably the House of Commons will be satisfied with last week's trial of strength; and, having extracted from Ministers some intelligence declaratory respecting their war policy, will allow the motions yet before it to go by default. Mr. Lowe will not unlikely be induced to abandon his motion; Sir W. Heathcote is nowhere, not being likely to secure support from the Tory side; and probably some more decisive news from the Crimea will give the finishing stroke to further discussions.

THE WHITSUN HOLIDAYS.

The weather on Whit-Monday, one of the most popular holidays, was not very auspicious. The warm, genial weather of the two preceding days was succeeded by showers of rain and a clouded sky. Outdoor holiday haunts were therefore not much in favour. Greenwich Fair had less than its usual number of visitors. The Surrey Gardens, however, drew a large concourse of people to witness the new gigantic picture of Sebastopol, and a Russian sortie and attack upon the English entrenchments, in which the former were, of course, repulsed amid a shower of fire-works. Madame Tussaud's Waxwork Exhibition, in Baker-street, attracted a full share of visitors. Some considerable additions have been recently made to the collection of figures, the principal of them being the celebrities of the present war, including the late Emperor Nicholas, the Sultan of Turkey, Omar Pasha, Marshal St. Arnaud, Lord Raglan, and Menschikoff, arranged in one group, and apparently acting together as harmoniously as though they were assembled at some court pageant. The Regent's-park Zoological gardens were not so numerously frequented as usual, though the visitors were to be counted by thousands. The various marvels of animated nature had all their different groups of admirers; but the sagacious elephants, the huge hippopotamuses, the noisy and beautiful collection of parrots, the equally noisy and somewhat odoriferous collection of monkeys, and, above all, that singularly interesting novelty, the aquavivarium, appeared to be the chief favourites.

Amongst the novelties may be mentioned Mr. Burford's fine panorama of Sebastopol, which conveys a general idea of the siege and of the locality.

That instructive place of resort, Mr. Wyld's Globe, in Leicester-square, was much patronised. In addition to the model of Sebastopol, which continues to attract much notice, the proprietor has recently constructed a model of Cronstadt. From this may be gained a very clear idea of the difficulties with which

our Baltic fleet had to contend; for not only are the different forts represented, but also the shallows, natural and artificial, of this portion of the Baltic Sea.

The special railway trains took the countless thousands into the country at very cheap fares.

The Crystal Palace, however, appears to have attracted the lion's share of holiday makers. On Monday, the visitors were no fewer than 15,933, including 411 season-ticket holders. Continual improvements are being made both within and without the great building. The flower-beds are putting on their most brilliant colours, and the picturesque clumps of trees in the park are covered with foliage. Amongst the completed departments which will attract the most notice is certainly the Hall of the Abencerrages, in the Alhambra, the *chef-d'œuvre* at once of its Arabic originators and of its gifted restorer, Owen Jones. Mr. Schallehn has been enabled to restore his hand to its original numbers and efficiency, and has devised many ingenious expedients for extending its services over a greater surface. Thus, in addition to the regular performances into which the whole force of the band is thrown, the wood instruments play English glees and other similarly harmonious pieces in the musical court; quartets are given on the brass in the fine arts court, while choral music, both sacred and secular, is given in the gallery of the centre transept, where a remarkably fine effect is produced by the combination of Bishop's organ with the wind instruments.

For the flower show itself, on Saturday next, which is to inaugurate a series of floral fêtes for the season, the most extensive preparations are being made, and the collection will be the most extensive and rarest that has probably ever been seen in England. It is to be only the first of a series. Nine of the upper fountains are to be played for the first time. On Monday, the first of a series of concerts will be given, at which Madame Alboni and other celebrated artistes are to delight the public—which public is however, to consist only of season-ticket holders.

Whitsun week is the season for monster processions in the manufacturing districts. Sunday scholars are treated by the thousands. On Monday, some 11,000 children connected with the Church schools walked in procession. The Dissenting schools have their processions on subsequent days of the week. Most of the schools, both Church and Dissenters', have arranged for one or two excursions into the country, to places, fifteen, thirty, or fifty miles distant; and one railway company alone has contracted to take 50,000 children to various distances during the week.

HENRY VINCENT'S LECTURES.

Mr. Vincent has addressed a large meeting at Canterbury, presided over by Purdon Cooper, Esq., Q.C. The audience consisted largely of the young men and women of the city, and the address, on their "Responsibilities and Duties," was most cordially received. At Deptford he has given two lectures on the "Tendencies of the Age;" at Deal, three on the present War; and one on the War at Luton. There is a strong feeling abroad, which is tending powerfully in the liberal direction. The present Ministry is disliked, but the Parliament appears to be despised by all parties, for its truckling subserviency to its party leaders, and its abandonment of all independent action in the direction of the present calamitous war.

THE VOTE BY BALLOT SOCIETY AND ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM.

On Friday evening, an influential meeting of the friends, and members of the Society for Promoting the Adoption of the Vote by Ballot in the Election of Members of Parliament, was held at the offices of the Society, Guildhall-chambers, in support of the objects for which the society was formed, as the best means of obtaining Administrative Reform.

Mr. PROUT having taken the chair, observed that, in consequence of the circumstances connected with the present momentous crisis, the friends of the ballot had for some time been prevented from carrying out their objects, but they still held that high ground for which the society was distinguished; which was, that no reforms would be effective if the ballot were not adopted. (Hear.) There could be no great measure of reform, and no honest exercise of the franchise was possible in the election of representatives to Parliament, without the ballot. (Hear.) He asked them for their assistance in spreading a knowledge of the principles of the society among the various constituencies throughout the country; for he sincerely believed that the whole subject of Administrative Reforms congregated upon the question of the ballot. (Hear.) He believed that all sincere reformers held the same opinions. (Hear.) The society has used its

* The Crimea; with a Visit to Odessa. By Charles W. Koch. London: Routledge.

utmost exertions to disseminate a knowledge of its principles. They have held various public meetings in different towns throughout the country, and they have sent their tracts to above a hundred places. When an election took place, they always circulated their tracts among the electors, calling upon them to pledge their candidates to vote for the ballot. (Hear.) Some 80,000 or 100,000 of these tracts had been distributed. He thought they had much reason to rejoice at the progress the question was making in the House of Commons. In June last year they had rapidly advanced, and on the last occasion they were able to reckon upon 200 advocates of the ballot. That gave them great hopes that they would be able to accomplish their object in a few years. It would be hard if, after trying for forty-one years, as they had done, that they should not succeed. (Hear.) He had for the last fifty years been struggling for its accomplishment. A great deal of excitement was abroad upon the subject of Administrative Reform; and the public mind was in favour of some great change. He was convinced that no reforms would be effective without the ballot. (Applause.)

General THOMPSON moved the following resolution:—

That it is a matter of notoriety that a majority of the House of Commons is returned by and through the undue influence of a few powerful families; and that the same influence controls the appointment of the Ministry itself and all other official employments. That the evils for which the nation mourns may be traced to the constitution of Parliament and to the undue influence exercised at elections for members of Parliament; and that this meeting is therefore of opinion that a remedy for these evils can only be found by enabling electors to vote in accordance with their convictions; and that can be effected only by the establishment of the vote by ballot.

He remarked that the question of the ballot was one of very great importance to the country, more particularly when there was so much excitement upon the question of Administrative Reform. They had drifted into a war, and no one knew when they would be able to drift out of it. (Hear.) He was afraid that it would be some time before they would get again on *terra firma*. He was convinced that it would be better for the administrative affairs of the country, that the Government should be under the control of public opinion. (Hear.) But that object could not be obtained unless the ballot formed the element in the election of members to Parliament. A large number of voters can attest to the undue influence exercised over them, in consequence of the absence of the ballot. (Hear.) Then it is known that working-men can have much influence at the time of elections, why should they not be allowed to come into the market and give their votes? But for their assistance in giving their votes the operation of the ballot must be admitted, otherwise every man would be under the influence of his master in the same way as the tradesmen were now under the influence of persons of wealth who deal with them. The gallant officer, after a few remarks upon the late motion of Mr. Berkeley, concluded by observing, that the country would find no security for any reforms without the use of the ballot in the exercise of the elective franchise, and read the resolution.

Mr. WHITEHURST, in seconding it, said: It was gratifying to find so many friends of the society come forward that evening to testify their adherence to the principles they have adopted, which was an assurance to him that their course would be finally successful. (Hear.) It was pleasing to find that they had the assurance of the gallant colonel, who was always an ardent supporter of the vote by ballot. (Hear.) He had made a calculation of the number of members in Parliament who held their seats through patronage and their connexion with great aristocratic families, and he found that 117 seats were obtained by the influence he had alluded to, 69 were members for nomination boroughs, and 249 were county members, making altogether 485 members, which formed the majority in the House of Commons. (Hear, hear.) It was by secret voting alone that the influence of family power and patronage was to be destroyed, when the country would possess that control it ought to enjoy in the administration of its affairs. The ballot was the voter's only protection; and the franchise would never be rightly exercised until the elector was shielded by the ballot-box. (Hear.) Members of Parliament would then be responsible to public opinion, which was the essential element of the representative system. Mr. Whitehurst referred to various votes of members in the House of Commons, which he remarked would not have been given, had the representative been responsible to his constituents; and concluded by urging the meeting to renew their exertions in support of the ballot, by which alone, he remarked, that responsibility could be secured. (Applause.)

Mr. BATEMAN, in support of the resolution, said that it was by the ballot alone electors could have control over their representatives in Parliament. The electors were demoralised and debased by the present system of voting. Such was the case, more particularly with the lower order of tradesmen. The only remedy to make the voters honest, was through the ballot. (Hear.) It was frightful to contemplate the state in which most constituencies were placed, owing to the absence of the ballot. (Hear.)

Mr. LUCAS followed in a similar train of argument, and remarked that the statistical statement of Mr. Whitehurst was of great importance, as showing the necessity of the ballot to ensure the return of honest representatives.

Mr. EBENEZER CLARK said that the elector wanted the protection of the ballot to render the vote independent. (Hear, hear.) It was the duty of all reformers to use every exertion in order to obtain the ballot, as an ingredient in the exercise of the franchise.

(Hear, hear.) It would not only be a benefit to the voter, but a great boon to the country; as it would put the right man in his right place in the House of Commons. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. LOOCMEERE, of the Isle of Wight, also, in a short speech, supported the resolution, and produced a ballot-box, which he remarked would be most useful in concealing the ballot-papers of the electors.

The CHAIRMAN observed, that when the bill became the law of the land, it would then be the time for the production of the ballot-box.

Mr. P. CRELLIN remarked that the ballot was such a good thing in itself, that he should be very glad for the arrival of the time when it was adopted. (Hear.) He was surprised to hear any one say that the poor should not be protected, for it was too often the case that by the influence of bribery the elector was corrupted.

No other gentlemen being desirous to address the meeting,

The CHAIRMAN put the vote, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. J. T. BONTOMS moved, and Mr. CRELLIN seconded, a vote of thanks to the Chairman for his presiding there, and for his indefatigable and laborious exertions in the cause of reform.

The CHAIRMAN observed, that during his own life he had been the zealous advocate of reform, and should continue to be as long as he had health and strength. He always supported the vote by ballot, and trusted that he should live to see the day when the honest elector should be protected by the ballot-box. (Hear.)

The meeting separated at a late hour.

REPRESENTATION OF BATH.

The nomination in the room of Mr. Phinn will, it is expected, take place on Thursday or Friday. The candidates are Mr. Whately, Q.C., on the Conservative side, and Mr. William Tite, Deputy Chairman of the Administrative Reform Association, for the Liberals. The Liberals had some difficulty in finding a candidate to suit them. Sir Culling Eardley, Bart., with whom they had been in communication, was in Bath on Friday, but his views on politico-religious questions did not appear to suit the great body of the Liberal party, and negotiations were at once broken off, and on Friday evening a meeting was held at the Liberal Association rooms, to come to a final decision as to the gentleman to be nominated as their candidate. The meeting was a crowded one, and attended by all shades of reformers. T. Gill, Esq., ex-mayor, presided, and Mr. Tite, on being introduced by the deputation who had waited upon him, was most cordially received. The proceedings were opened by the chairman, who expressed his hope that, in the event of Mr. Tite's sentiments meeting the approbation of the Liberal party, they would unite to place him at the head of the poll. Mr. Tite, in an address of considerable length, stated his opinions. He had had the honour of being appointed vice-president of the Administrative Reform Association, and the meeting at which that association was organised was almost the first time he had taken a prominent part in such matters. But he felt that the times called for action; that great reforms were needed, and that this could only be done by the constituencies forcing the question upon the Government. This could not be done unless they sent to Parliament plain-spoken men like himself, who had nothing to fear and nothing to gain from the Ministry. (Cheers.) He had nothing to conceal. He had always been a Reformer, and he would vote for the ballot with all his heart. He did not want to go to Parliament pledged; he wished them to have confidence in him that he would faithfully do his duty. He was a Churchman, but was on most intimate terms of friendship with Dissenters. He believed if they had the right men in the right places, there would have been no need of new taxation. Immense sums of money had been wasted. He was no enemy to the conducting of the war boldly, honestly, and vigorously. They were bound to conduct it creditably to themselves and honestly to their allies. The grant to Maynooth did not commend itself to his conscience, and would not have his support. He should be equally opposed to the *Regium Donum*, and would vote against Church-rates. Mr. Tite, whose address was received with great cheering, having retired, it was unanimously resolved that he should be requested to allow himself to be put in nomination; and a resolution to that effect having been forwarded to him, he, on Saturday morning, in an address to the electors, signified his consent. In that address he says, that from "the part taken by him in the Administrative Reform Association, he feels that in his person the first great battle to be fought on that momentous question, and that the city of Bath is called upon to prove to the country and the world that Englishmen and electors are in earnest, and that the official mismanagement, which has brought misery and mourning to so many hearths and homes, and so grievously added to our national burdens, is to be removed and amended."

The Conservative candidate, Mr. Whately, Q.C., held a meeting of his supporters the same day, at the Assembly-rooms, over which Colonel Blathwayte presided. The learned gentleman, in the course of his address, said it was quite clear that in the conduct of the war they had not had the right men in the right places; great alterations were wanted in the mode in which the several public offices were filled up. He was bound as a true Protestant to say, that it was not expedient to renew the Maynooth grant. This address was received with the applause of the auditors, and a resolution pledging the meeting to support the speaker carried amid loud cheering.

THE WAR.

OCCUPATION OF KERTCH — RUSSIAN DEFEATS.

The submarine telegraph informs us that important operations have marked the opening of the campaign in the Crimea. Both French and English messages have been received announcing the occupation of Kertch. Lord Raglan says:—

CRIMEA, May 27.—We are masters of the Sea of Azoff without a casualty. The troops landed at Kertch on Her Majesty's birthday, and the enemy fled, blowing up their fortifications on both sides of the Straits, and destroying their steamers. Some vessels of 50 guns have fallen into the hands of the Allies.

Further intelligence has been received from Lord Raglan, announcing that Lieutenant-General Sir George Brown had reached Yenikalé at one P.M. on the 25th instant, and that the day before he destroyed a foundry near Kertch, where shot, shell, and Minié balls were manufactured. In the advance, Sir George Brown had placed the French on the right, the English on the left, and the Turks in reserve.

The *Moniteur's* announcement of the same event is as follows:—

May 27, 9 A.M.—The expedition to Kertch and Yenikalé has been attended with complete success. The enemy fled at the approach of the Allies, they blew up their powder-magazines, destroyed their batteries, and burnt their steamers. The Sea of Azoff is occupied by the allied squadron.

The *Moniteur* "extracts" the following from two despatches, addressed by General Pelissier to the Minister at War. In the first the General says:—

The enemy had formed between the Central Bastion and the sea a large *place d'armes*, where they intended assembling considerable forces, in order to make important sorties against us. On the night of the 22nd we attacked these works, which were defended by almost all the garrison. The combat was very severe, and lasted almost the whole night. We have taken and occupied the half of the works, and I hope to be able to announce to you to-morrow, that the remainder were taken the night before.

In the other despatch, dated ten o'clock at night of the 24th, General Pelissier says:—

We have happily completed last night the capture of the works attacked the previous day, and we occupy them. The enemy, who in the first attack suffered enormous losses, yielded more easily. Ours, though severe, have been less than theirs. The anniversary of the birthday of Her Majesty Queen Victoria was cordially celebrated to-day with our Allies.

A subsequent despatch of Friday, the 25th, dated ten P.M., says:—

To-day we have occupied the line of the Tchernaya. The enemy, who was not in force, offered no great resistance, and rapidly retreated to the hills.

We have completely established ourselves in the works carried on the nights of the 22nd and 23rd.

An armistice has been concluded for the interment of the dead, and we have been able to estimate the enemy's loss. It must have been from five to six thousand men in killed and wounded.

On the 26th General Pelissier sent another report:—

The enemy has made no demonstration either in front of the town or against our lines on the Tchernaya. The works of fortification at Kamiesch make progress. The health of the troops is good.

Prince Gortschakoff, writing on the 23rd, says:—

Yesterday evening seventeen battalions of the enemy, with reserves, attacked our trench of counter-approach commenced the day before in front of Bastions 5 and 6. The combat was sanguinary, and lasted during the whole of the night.

Our twelve battalions lost nearly 2,500 men in driving back the enemy.

DESPATCHES FROM LORD RAGLAN.

BEFORE SEBASTOPOL, May 12.

My Lord,—I do myself the honour to acquaint your Lordship that General de la Marmora, with a portion of the Sardinian Contingent, arrived off Balaklava on the night of the 8th inst., and he came up to head-quarters the following morning.

The very unfavourable state of the weather since the 9th has prevented any material part of the force being landed; and it has been found necessary to send the vessels that brought it, and which could not be got into the harbour, to Kazatch Bay, until it should moderate.

Five troops of the 12th Lancers landed on the 9th from the Himalaya, which performed the voyage from Alexandria to Balaklava in ninety-four hours.

The enemy made two serious assaults upon our most advanced parallel of the right attack on the night of the 9th, but were on each occasion most nobly met and repulsed with considerable loss.

The arrangements of Colonel Trollope, who had charge of the right attack, and Lieutenant-Colonel Mundy, the field-officer of the trenches, were most judicious; and Captain Turner, of the Royal Fusiliers, and Captain Jordan, of the 34th Regiment, are reported to have done their duty in the most gallant manner.

They opened a powerful fire on our trenches on the following night, and exposed their columns to a heavy musketry fire from the troops on duty. They did not, however, reach the parapets, nor, indeed, come very near them.

Last night, a very determined sortie was made upon the advance of our left attack. The enemy moved forward in two columns from the Woronzoff road. Our advanced sentries having slowly retired, the guard of the trenches was prepared to receive them, and consequently drove them back in the most determined manner. A few Russians only got into the parallel, and five were left dead close outside.

The conduct of both officers and men was admirable, and it is with deep concern that I have to report the death of Captain Edwards, of the 68th Foot, and that of five men.

I have also the pain of saying that the wounded amount to thirty.

Owing to the great quantity of rain which has fallen during the last few days, the service in the trenches has again been most arduous and severe upon our men, who

deserve all praise for their energy and untiring perseverance.

I enclose the returns of casualties to the 10th inst.—
I have, &c.,
RAGLAN.

The casualties include 1 sergeant, 9 rank and file, killed; 2 officers, 1 sergeant, 56 rank and file, wounded.

BEFORE SERASTOPOL, May 15.

My Lord,—Since my despatch of the 12th inst., nothing has occurred worthy of being reported to your lordship.

The fire has been very slack, and that of the enemy has been directed towards the French works rather than against the English trenches.

The remainder of the 12th Lancers has arrived and will be disembarked to-day.

All our means are devoted to the landing of the Sardinian troops, which the bad weather had prevented on the arrival of the first ships.

I have found it necessary, in some instances, to land artillery horses at Kazatch Bay, to avoid further crowding the harbour of Balaklava.

I enclose the return of casualties to the 13th instant inclusive.—I have, &c.,
RAGLAN.

The casualties from the 11th to the 13th of May were—1 officer, 11 rank and file, killed; 2 sergeants, 51 rank and file, wounded; 1 rank and file missing.

In another despatch Lord Raglan adverts to the weekly report of Dr. Hall, Inspector-General of Hospitals on the state of the army.

I deeply regret to have to draw your lordship's attention to the fact that cholera has reappeared here, that twenty men have died, and that fifty-two men were yesterday labouring under the fatal disease. The troops had been free from it for several months, and I was in hopes that we should have had no return of it. General Canrobert informs me that it had never ceased to prevail in the French army in a greater or lesser degree.

A telegraph has been received of a subsequent date to the above, announcing that the cholera was decreasing. The following is an extract from Dr. Hall's report:—

Hitherto the disease has chiefly attacked new comers, and many of the cases have occurred when the men were either actually in the trenches, or immediately after their return from duty in them. This may have been owing to the combined causes of fatigue and local miasma, but to neither in particular; for we find the men of the B, G, and P batteries, who never go into the trenches at all, and who are not overworked, have suffered nearly as much as any others. All the men attacked in them, with I believe one exception, had recently arrived in the Crimea. In the P battery, two of the men attacked had only just landed; one, I think, had been about twenty-four, and the other thirty-six, hours on shore when they were attacked, and in both the disease followed intemperance.

The weather, which for some days previous to the 10th had been extremely warm, was followed on that day by heavy rain, which continued, alternating with periods of dense fog, during the whole of the 11th and 12th, but it has now cleared up again, and the temperature has been considerably reduced.

HEALTH OF THE CAMP.

The *Times* correspondent writes on the 8th: "In addition to the fever which prevails, some fatal cases of cholera have appeared in the camp, especially among the hard drinkers and the young soldiers recently joined, and diarrhoea and dysentery are beginning to show themselves once more. It cannot be from any want of proper food that these diseases arise. They must rather be the results of certain conditions which will always affect multitudes of men crowded together for months in a narrow space of ground and sleeping in close tents as close as they can lie. The army is not only supplied with necessaries, but with luxuries. They have 'bread' three times a week; it is brown, but not sour, and when eaten before it becomes stale it is palatable enough. There are no less than seventeen articles included in their ration returns, and among the 'luxuries' which have been issued to the men, are macaroni, cheese, hams, vermicelli, sausages, peas, vegetables of various sorts, wine, Daffy's elixir, game pies, Welbeck ale, tobacco, &c. In a few days they will receive rations of light porter—two quarts to every three men—instead of their rum, till all in store is finished. The ration of wine was very small—in one division, for instance, it was only the third of a gill per man. Many of these things came from the Crimean Army Fund's stores, and some of the officers adopted the judicious plan of setting up small retail establishments for the distribution of those stores, where necessaries were sold at a loss, and luxuries were disposed of at such an increase of price as met the loss on the necessaries. Colonel Seymour, of the Scots Fusilier Guards, took considerable pains in the management of a depot on this principle, and its success answered his best expectations, and fully rewarded his generous exertions. The 10th Hussars and 46th Regiment have received warm clothing also from the Crimean Fund, as they felt cold on arriving here. The hams, sausages, vermicelli, &c., were, I believe, sent from Venice by Lord Westmorland. Notwithstanding these supplies, disease, as I have said, still clings to us; but the cholera is not by any means prevalent, and the isolated cases which have exhibited themselves, though of a virulent nature, do not present the intense form of the Asiatic cholera. The Sanitary Commissioners have examined the hospitals in front, but, so far as I can hear, they had nothing important to suggest of a practical nature. The soil is saturated with decaying animal matter. I have slept lately in a sunken hut in which a corpse lies buried, with only a few inches of earth between its head and my own. Within a yard and a half of the door of my present abode are the shallow graves of three soldiers, a little earth heaped up loosely over them, mixed with scanty lime, which does not even destroy the rank vegetation that springs out of them. Nearer still is a large mound, supposed to contain the remains of a camel—rather a large supply of noxious gases; and further away, at the distance of about 180 yards, are the graves of

the division, where hundreds of bodies lie lightly covered as close as they can pack. In front of the hut are two mounds, about ten feet distant, containing the buried offal of the butchers; and on the left are the remains of more camels, and of God knows what beside, which emits pestilential odours when the sun shines. This is a nice spot to live in, you will say, and yet I believe it is quite as favourably situated as the tents and huts of many hundreds out here. What is done to prevent the results which, according to all experience, must follow from such a state of things? Simply this—a very small quantity of lime is shaken over the earth which lies upon these remains, and it is a chance whether it is of the least use or not."

The *Moniteur*, of Wednesday, contains an article on the sanitary state of the French army in the Crimea. Its substance is summed up in the following concluding sentence: "The army enjoys as good health as could possibly have been hoped for. The number of men taken into the ambulances, which in the month of March was 7,585, was in April reduced to 5,600, while the number of those who left cured in the same month was 1,399, having been 1,064 in March. This has been the result, although, in consequence of the siege operations, the wounded were more numerous in April than in March. The army of the Crimea is, then, in good condition to fulfil its mission."

AUSTRIA AND THE NEGOTIATIONS.

The Paris correspondent of the *Daily News* says: "I am enabled to state, on official authority, that the Vienna conferences are closed, and that a protocol has been drawn up recording the definitive failure of the negotiations. It follows that the last Austrian propositions have been rejected. The knowledge of this fact had probably a good deal to do with the warlike tone of Lord John Russell's speech."

The *Cologne Gazette* states that three Austrian circulars have lately been issued to the Austrian representatives at the German Courts. It says:—

The first is simply a letter accompanying the protocols of the Vienna Conferences. It lays stress upon the fact that the negotiations are not broken off, but, on the contrary, are continued by the Cabinets interested.

The second relates to Count Nesselrode's last circular of the 30th (to M. de Glinka), which it declares not conformable to the position of Germany, and incompatible with the obligations accepted by it. It points out the errors committed by the Russian Government, and expresses the intimate conviction that no German Government will show itself disposed to accept engagements which ought to be considered as directed against Austria, and might lead to most regrettable complications, the consequence and extent of which cannot be foreseen. Prussia, however, already replied in January of last year to the Russian proposition of a strict neutrality; she declared in two despatches, bearing the date of 31st January, 1854, to proclaim that at present such an armed neutrality between Austria, Prussia, and Russia, would be equivalent to tying their hands in the presence of eventualities, the bearing of which was not known; that, moreover, the support of Prussia is claimed, which it is pretended to renounce, when, in another form it is true, that propositions of a sort of triple defensive alliance is made; that, finally, the protocol of the 5th December, 1853, created reciprocal obligations between the four Powers, and that Prussia cannot in any case renounce the work undertaken in common, and by her desertion cause the failure of the common enterprise. "So far," adds Count Buol's despatch, "Austria may, in common accord with Prussia, count, on this subject, upon the unanimous opinion of the Diet."

The third despatch expresses the regret of the Ministerial change which has taken place in France; but adds, that it is to be hoped this event will not cause any impediment to the work commenced for the restoration of peace.

TURKEY.—EMPLOYMENT OF CHRISTIANS.

The great measure for the employment of Christians in the armies of the Sultan is at length completed. The proclamation which was read before the Greek and Armenian Patriarchs states that the time has come when the Mussulmans, who so long have borne the burden of military service, should be relieved of a part by the other subjects of the Porte. Formerly, the document states, the Christians were free on the payment of a fixed indemnity; now they will be expected to serve in person should the lot of the conscription so determine, or else pay a sum sufficient to provide a substitute. It is probable, however, that the villages will be obliged to find a certain number of men, and that the details of the scheme will be left to the Primates of the respective communities. All Christians who do not serve in person will pay a fixed military contribution. The Christians will be eligible to the rank of colonel, although this limitation is not mentioned in the decree. Commissioners are to be sent at once into Roumelia and Anatolia to commence the execution of the new scheme.

"Although," says the *Times* correspondent, "the proclamation does not speak of the new law as a concession to the Rayahs, but rather assumes that they have heretofore enjoyed an immunity which must now cease, there can be no doubt that the present year is a new era for the Turkish empire. All the calamities of the State arise from the domination of one race over others—a domination which encourages indolence and recklessness in the governing class, while it compels deceit and political treachery in those ruled. The keystone of this continued domination has been the privilege of military service, or rather of bearing arms, either as soldiers or in a private capacity. On the distant hills of Thessaly, or among the fastnesses of Montenegro, there has, indeed, always been a class devoted to the use of arms, who never submitted to the Ottoman conqueror, and who have at length obtained positive or virtual independence. But in more level districts, in face of a large Mussulman population, no such immunity was possible; the population was totally disarmed, and has since been

compelled to confine itself to trade or agriculture. No political rights are possible in such a country as this without the guarantee of material force. It is useless for firmans to be published giving equality before the law to Mussulman and Rayah, if in the heart of the country there be a Christian village whose inhabitants may not possess a pistol, when a mile off there is a community of Turks armed to the teeth, whose excesses the Pasha will connive at, or perhaps encourage. The position of the Christians is precisely that of the Irish Catholics during the last century, and under a better system there is no more likelihood of the Rayahs bringing the Russians into the country, than there is of Irishmen fighting against England in the Crimea, as they did at Fontenoy."

Foreign and Colonial.

THE PARIS UNIVERSAL EXHIBITION.

The Paris Exhibition has thus far proved a failure. A letter dated Friday says: "Already the price of lodgings has fallen nearly fifty per cent. The Exhibition fever is abating. The pulse of Paris beats more quietly. Two months ago, a gentleman, owning property on the Avenue d'Antin, required 150,000*fr.* for his house during the Exhibition time—he subsequently let it for 50,000*fr.* Hotel proprietors who, ten days ago, asked 15*fr.* per day for the most modest quarters, are now content with 8*fr.* for the same accommodation. It is well that people have come to their senses so soon. The rain, however, has undoubtedly had much to do with it. People will not take the trouble to swim, even to an Universal Exhibition. They wait till the fine weather has set in, and the new bonnet can be safely worn. Great complaint is made of the high scale of charges, especially of the five-franc days, which have miserably failed. It is stated the Commissioners have sadly mismanaged the whole affair, and that the Emperor on the last occasion, when he inspected the progress made, or rather the progress that ought to have been made, was heard to say to one of the authorities, that if everything were not finished on a certain day he would turn them all out of the building. General complaint is made of the shuffling, meanly commercial spirit exhibited by the company. General Morin has resigned his post and other resignations are spoken of. The correspondents of the English papers complain of the whole arrangements and contrast the inconvenience of the building in the Champs Elysée with our palace of glass in 1851. It will take six weeks, or two months, on the most moderate calculation, before the Exhibition can be in a fit state to be examined and judged of as a whole. Even the Palais de l'Industrie is still, in a great measure, a mere wilderness of bare stalls and unopened packing cases. The arrangements for admission are said to be very defective. "One case has come to our knowledge of a gentleman who intended exhibiting jewels amounting to the value of 2,000,000*fr.* being so ill-treated in this way that he has countermanded the order to show them, and returned his season ticket to the Imperial Commission as valueless." From the catalogue we learn that France sends to the Exhibition 6,497 competitors for prizes; Algeria, 455; and the other colonies of the empire 6, making a total of 8,968. From the rest of the world comes an aggregate of 7,976 exhibitors, of whom 1,479 are British, 1,760 Austrian, 637 Belgian, 1,207 Prussian, 538 Swedish and Norwegian, 436 Swiss, 67 American, and the remainder in proportionate numbers.

On Sunday, for the first time, the Exhibition was open to the public free, by order of the Emperor. There was, of course, a very crowded attendance. The Emperor, it appears, is so much dissatisfied with the present management of the Exhibition, that he seriously thinks of taking it into the hands of the State by a decree of *expropriation*, indemnifying the company. In this case, it is said the Exhibition will be thrown open gratis, except on certain reserved days, when the product of the receipts will be given to the poor. The British exhibitors have made a firm stand against the lax notions and customs prevalent in the French capital as to the Sabbath. The Paris correspondent of the *Daily News* reports that, on Sunday week, the long series of Glasgow cases were closely covered up, and the Glasgow nave stall was equally obscured from the view of visitors. The engineering section was enveloped in brown Holland; and the exhibitors of ceramic manufactures vied with Glasgow exhibitors in what he is pleased to describe as "this little exhibition of bigotry." He remarked among these, the firms of Messrs. Rose and Co., of Coalport, Shropshire, and Messrs. A. B. and B. P. Daniells, of London. Not a single thread of Manchester cotton was to be seen. Jacob Behrens, Samuel Smith, and James Akroyd and Son, had also drawn curtains before their stalls. In the English gallery, the Irish poplin stall "looked like a great four-post bedstead with the curtains drawn;" and the entire display of English silks was effectually hidden from view. In the jewellers' department two prominent exhibitors also displayed brown holland coverings. Making his way to the Indian court he found the openings to the beautiful tent "blocked up with calico," and the attendants very active in hiding the rest of the exhibition. Of all the British exhibitors, Minton and Co., who show furniture, were the only persons that, being "at Rome," had the politeness to "do as Rome does."

FOREIGN MISCELLANY.

An attempt to ascertain the depth of the Niagara river, above the Falls, has failed. A mass of metal, weighing forty pounds, attached to a line, was dropped from the high railway bridge; it sank for a few moments, but was quickly borne forward by the im-

petuous current, and was seen some distance down the river on the surface—the rush of water prevented it from sinking.

Public Executions have been abolished in New South Wales by an Act of the Legislature. The first capital punishment under the new law took place within the walls of Darlinghurst Gaol, in the presence of six officials and six citizens, who signed a certificate of the death of the convict, which was published in the Government Gazette.

Dr. Lang has been tried at Melbourne for a libel on Chief Justice A'Beckett. Dr. Lang's son was convicted of embezzling monies of the New South Wales Bank at Ballarat; Dr. Lang wrote a letter to the *Argus* imputing unfairness to the Chief Justice, before whom his son was tried, arising from political hostility. The Attorney-General prosecuted him for this letter. Dr. Lang defended himself with great ability, and the jury acquitted him.

No less than five cases were tried, on Friday, of offence against the Emperor Napoleon by word of mouth.

The King of Portugal, and his brother, the Duke of Oporto, accompanied by the Duke de Terceira and General de Sarmiento, arrived in Paris on Saturday.

The eruption of Mount Vesuvius was, on the 19th, still active, though the cascade of fire is now a blackened mass. All fear of further damage at present is removed. There had been a suspension of the flow of lava for about eighteen hours. Not one life has been lost. The loss which landholders have suffered is nothing compared with what it might have been but for the temporary suspension and cooling of the lava; whole townships must then have been swept away. Every person is indulging, according to his rank or education, in speculations and reflections on the past. Some talk of miracles without number wrought by San Rocco and San Giorgio. The Madonna del Arco, and the Madonna dell'Immacolata, and some other saints, were open to flattery. Nothing could so win upon them as the sight of hundreds of engravings of their effigies tied round the trees near the lava. Every house or vineyard that has been saved is attributed to the special intervention of a saint; and every object destroyed is set down, not to the want of power, but to the disinclination. His Majesty's name, too, has very nearly been placed in the saintly calendar; for it was broadly asserted, that the lava stopped while he was present.

According to the *Sentinel* of Namur, a very curious affair is about to occupy public attention in Belgium. In the siege of Bouvignes, in 1455, the Duke de Brabant made prisoner a nobleman named Legrain; but instead of taking his life, as he was entitled to do, the duke consented to spare it on condition of receiving all his estates and property. Legrain made over all he possessed, but stipulated that at the end of four centuries it should return to his family. The duke made no objection. The four centuries expire in July next, and already a great many persons, representing themselves to be descendants of Legrain, are preparing to claim the property. It is foreseen that the claims will give rise to numerous lawsuits.

The *Univers* says that the French caravan of pilgrims has "happily terminated" its excursion to the Holy Land. On the 30th ult. they embarked in good health to return to Europe.

Bayonne advices of the 23rd state that a Carlist conspiracy had been discovered at Saragossa on the 23rd. An ex-Carlist chief, who had entered the Queen's service after the convention of Bergara, had deserted with sixty men of the garrison. Troops of the line and militia had gone in pursuit. Navarre and the Basque provinces were tranquil.

Monsieur Godard left New Orleans in a balloon, with a number of companions; he travelled 310 miles in six hours, "landed his passengers" at Port Gibson, Mississippi, and "resumed his voyage" to some unknown point.

COUNT NESSELRODE AND COUNT WALEWSKI.

An elaborate circular by Count Nesselrode, dated April 28, and addressed to the Russian agents at foreign Courts, has been made public. It goes over the whole of the proceedings at the Vienna Conference, arguing the points serially from a Russian point of view. By far the larger portion of the paper refers to the third point—the object of which was to connect Turkey with the European system, and to put an end to Russian preponderance in the Black Sea.

As regards the arrangements for carrying out that object, the Plenipotentiaries had declared that they depended too much upon the events of the war to allow the bases to be settled at once. Public manifestations in France and England, however, sufficiently betrayed the idea which lurked behind those words. It aimed at the destruction of Sebastopol. Doubtless, according to the calculations of the Cabinets of London and Paris, the military operations, in the Crimea, going hand-in-hand with diplomatic deliberations, were to influence the issue of the Vienna Conference. When they opened, the anticipation was not justified by events; and therefore the name of Sebastopol was never uttered. Russia is indebted for this silence to the heroic resistance of her brave generals, officers, sailors, and soldiers. Their noble devotion has been the most victorious means of negotiations.

Count Nesselrode states the exact tenour of the instructions with regard to the third point, provided by the late Emperor in anticipation of the conference, and subsequently sanctioned by the present Emperor:—

They start from the principle that the Sultan, as sovereign of the territory touching the two straits of the Dardanelles and of the Bosphorus, has a right to open or shut the passage. They are not opposed to throwing open the Black Sea to foreign

flags, if the Porte itself admits the principle. In that case, they deduced the natural consequence of a perfect reciprocity, so that Russian vessels might be free to pass the Straits, to enter the Mediterranean in the same manner that foreign ships-of-war might navigate the Black Sea. They moreover admitted the perfect liberty of the Sultan to exercise his sovereign rights to assign Turkish ports as harbours of refuge and provisioning for foreign vessels. On these conditions, the late Emperor had authorised, eventually, his plenipotentiaries to give their assent to the abrogation of the principle of closing the Straits.

Lord John Russell's "very remarkable definition," made on the 26th March, is quoted—namely, that "the best and only admissible conditions of peace would be those which, being the most in harmony with the honour of Russia, should at the same time be sufficient for the security of Europe and for preventing a return of complications such as that the settlement of which is now in question." Count Nesselrode then proceeds:—

After this declaration, made formally in the Conference of the 16th March, Lord John Russell cannot be surprised that the propositions made on the 19th April were not judged by the Imperial Cabinet as "the best and only admissible one," to quote the words of the English Plenipotentiary. In sooth, to limit the number of vessels in the Black Sea while the naval forces in the Mediterranean remained without control; to open the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus to France and England while closed to the Russian flag; finally, to stipulate the nomination of foreign Consuls in our ports without the Imperial Government having it in its power to refuse them the exequatur—a right enjoyed equally by France and England in the territories submitted to their rule;—surely these were not conditions of a nature to assure the blessings of a solid and durable peace to Europe: for a transaction to be a permanent one between States must be mutually honourable, otherwise it is not peace, but an armistice. Those considerations, appreciated in their exact truth, will complete the proof that in reality the combinations suggested by the Plenipotentiaries of France and England would have offered fewer and less solid pledges for the peace of Europe than the plan drawn up by the late Emperor.

At the close, Prince Nesselrode sums up the results of the conferences:—

The first [point] was one of political rivalry. The Emperor took the most exalted view of it; he resolved it in the interest of the welfare of the Principalities, the prosperity of which Russia had promised to guarantee. She has kept and will keep her promise.

The second was connected with general interests of commerce. The Emperor has decided in favour of the free trade of all nations.

The third concerned not only the general balance of power, but touched nearly the dignity and honour of Russia. It was thus that our august master judged it. The national sentiment of the whole country will respond to his decision.

The fourth point was one of religious liberty, of civilisation, and social order for all Christendom. In the eyes of the Imperial Cabinet, it is that which ought one day to be placed at the head of a treaty of general peace worthy of being invested with the sanction of all the Sovereigns of Europe. The Plenipotentiaries of France and England refused to touch even this question of religious interest before that concerning the navigation of the Black Sea had been settled.

You are authorised to communicate this recital to the Cabinet to which you have the honour of being accredited. It will judge which side was most loyal in endeavouring to procure the re-establishment of peace; it will decide on which side the obstacles arose which have prevented that desirable work. If it finally fails by the rupture of the conferences, the impartial opinion of friendly Powers will at least render the justice to Russia to acknowledge that she spared no efforts to assure the success of a negotiation destined to realise the deeply-expressed desire for a general pacification.

Europe may count upon the constant and firm solicitude which the Emperor will always devote to that great interest, when the hour shall have come when Divine Providence will have enlightened the conscience of the Cabinets whose implacable hostility, in presence of the mourning which covers an august tomb, calls upon His Majesty to defend with his drawn sword the safety and honour of his country.

The first diplomatic performance of Count Walewski, the new French Minister of Foreign Affairs, consists of a reply to the above circular of Count Nesselrode, and has been published in the *Moniteur*. It is very outspoken in its language and appears to disprove the rumours that have been circulated, of the anxiety of the French Government to patch up differences with Russia. Count Walewski calls to mind that on the 7th January, Prince Gortschakoff, after a reference to St. Petersburg, "accepted without any reserve the different bases known under the name of the four guarantees. This fact is attested in the most peremptory manner by the unanimous testimony of all the plenipotentiaries present at the Conference—nay, more; a despatch of Count Buol, communicated simultaneously at Paris and London, sets forth that the negotiations, the limits of which were thus defined, were only opened at the request of Russia." Count Walewski's Note assumes that the appeal made by that Court to public opinion implies the termination of the Conference. The negotiations, Count Walewski declares, were only opened at the request of Russia, who was aware that one of the indispensable conditions of peace consisted in the cessation of her preponderance in the Euxine. She cannot, therefore, justly complain of having been taken by surprise. After forcibly replying to Count Nesselrode's attempt to mystify the first point, Count Walewski contents himself with observing as to the second guarantee, that, "should the navigation of the Danube, hampered as it has been for the last twenty-five years, recover its liberty, a war has been requisite to induce Russia not to leave useless in her hands one of the finest outlets in the world. Should Germany acquire this immense boon for its commerce, it will owe it to the blood shed by France and England." Count Nesselrode affects to regret, that,

pending the reference to St. Petersburg on the third point, the Plenipotentiaries were not allowed to proceed with the discussion of the fourth. Count Walewski answers this reproach by remarking, that the object of the fourth guarantee was diametrically opposed to that of the Menschikoff mission; and that, if the Fourth Point had been entered upon, it would only have shown the difficulty of negotiation at this juncture to be still more insurmountable. He then comes to the question of the Black Sea; and, after showing that no security would have been afforded by either of the two combinations recommended by Count Nesselrode, maintains, that "the demands of the Western Powers, in conformity to the wishes of the Porte, supported to the end by the Austrian Plenipotentiaries, as a complete and efficacious system, were, on the contrary, as moderate in form as they were legitimate in their nature."

We asked nothing from Russia which would have caused her dignity, and still less her honour, to suffer. We invited her, moved solely by the general interest of Europe, to fix on a basis equitably calculated and accepted by the Porte, the number of vessels which she means to keep for the future in a sea in which she has to dread no attack, and in which her navy, reduced to reasonable proportions, amply sufficient for the regular services for which she would have to provide, would in any case have been at least equal to the Ottoman navy. The Cabinet of St. Petersburg refused this accord, which would have restored peace to the world. It has declined the authority of the examples that were cited to it; has forgotten that, in its last Treaty of Peace with Persia, it imposed itself on that Power the obligation of abstaining from navigating the Caspian Sea, and of exclusively reserving that sea to the flotillas of Russia; it has not consented to admit what France, England, the United States, and the Netherlands, under different forms, and at different epochs, have accepted, either to terminate war, or to consolidate peace, or to suppress germs of rivalry or conflict between neighbouring States.

In concluding the *exposé*, Count Walewski expresses his confidence, that it will leave upon all impartial minds the conviction that—

The Western Powers cannot be responsible for the continuation of a war, the effects of which they have desired to stop with as much sincerity and zeal as they employed to prevent the breaking out of it. France and England do not entertain the sentiments ascribed to them; their hostility is not, as has been said, implacable. They have never desired to impose on Russia a peace derogatory to her honour and to her dignity; but necessity has invested them with a duty which, with the aid of Divine Providence, they will know how to fulfil; and Europe, consolidated on her bases, will be thankful to them for having restrained within just bounds an influence which everywhere endeavoured to outstep the limits of its legitimate action.

Court, Personal, and Official News.

The Court remains in retirement at Osborne. The visitors include the Princess Hohenlohe, Princess Adelaide, and Princess Feodore.

The *Morning Herald* having announced that the Queen and Prince Albert would visit Paris about the middle of August; the *Observer* says that no time has been fixed for the visit. It will probably take place before the date specified by a morning contemporary; but it must depend upon the state of public affairs, and could not possibly be settled at this distance of time.

The Earl of Clarendon, Lord Panmure, and Lord Palmerston, Sir Charles Wood, and, indeed, nearly all the leading Ministers, remain in London for the holidays. The Duke of Argyll has left for a few days, and Lord John Russell makes a brief sojourn at Richmond.

The Countess of Clarendon had an assembly on Saturday night at the family mansion in Grosvenor Crescent. It was very fully attended by the foreign diplomatic body and a brilliant circle of the aristocracy still remaining in town.

The *Athenæum* states that Dr. Hoffmann has been nominated to the office of Assayer of the Mint.

Colonel Rawlinson has arrived in London from Bagdad, having brought to a close the excavations in Assyria and Babylonia which he has been superintending for the last three years on behalf of the Trustees of the British Museum.

The *Gazette* of Friday night states that "the Queen has been pleased to order letters-patent to be passed under the Great Seal, revoking the letters-patent of the Master-General, Lieutenant-General, and Principal Storekeeper, of the Ordnance. Her Majesty has likewise been pleased to order letters-patent to be passed under the Great Seal, vesting the civil administration of the Army and Ordnance in the hands of Fox, Baron Panmure, one of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State."

Mr. Phinn, one of the members for Bath, has been appointed to succeed Rear-Admiral W. A. B. Hamilton as Second Secretary to the Admiralty. In a farewell address to his late constituents, Mr. Phinn intimates that he has withdrawn entirely from political life.

Sir George Grey declined to interfere to shorten the imprisonment of the three "respectable inhabitants" of Lambeth who were convicted of mal-practices at the election of Guardians.

The deputation who recently waited on Lord Palmerston with a memorial praying for the unconditional pardon of Mr. Smith O'Brien confidently expect that the reply will be favourable.

An Act, intended to limit the hours of work of persons employed and resident in the establishments of dressmakers and milliners in the metropolis, has been printed. The prohibited hours, exclusive of Sunday, are, from March 1 to August 1 in every year, between half-past nine in the evening and eight in the morning; and from August 1 to March 1, from

between eight in the evening and eight in the morning. It is proposed to allow an hour-and-a-half for meals daily. Penalties to be enforced before a police magistrate, without power of appeal.

A return just obtained by Mr. Brotherton, M.P., shows that there still remain open, or partially open, for interment within the limits of the Metropolitan Burial Act, sixty consecrated burial grounds, fifteen unconsecrated, and eleven partly consecrated, of which nine are cemeteries. Some of these grounds are already wholly or partly closed, saving existing rights in private graves and vaults. The total number of burials in the consecrated grounds during the year 1854 varied from 4 to 3,666.

On Tuesday, the Rev. J. Grote, M.A., Senior Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, was elected Professor of Moral Philosophy in that University, in the room of Dr. Whewell, resigned.

Her Majesty having discovered that a large proportion of the children of the domestic and other servants at Buckingham Palace are very much neglected in the matter of education, has commanded that premises in Palace-street, Pimlico, should be fitted up as a school, to be opened for educational purposes on Monday next. Mr. Charles Dodd, a gentleman of tried ability in his vocation, has been appointed master.

At the Oxford University Debating Society, after a very animated discussion, the following resolution was carried by 19 to 16: "That Mr. Gladstone's political career has rendered him unfit to represent this University in Parliament."

From a register kept by the National Parliamentary Reform Association, we learn that the following was the division on the motion for the ballot:—

Ayes, 168; Noes, 219. Tellers included.			
	For.	Against.	
Counties.			
England and Wales	8	90	
Scotland	2	12	
Ireland	17	11	
University members	3	3	
Borough members.			
England and Wales	116	90	
Scotland	13	1	
Ireland	12	12	
	168	219	

INFLUENCE.
34 connected with the aristocracy voted in the Ayes, 104 Noes.
Thus, if there had been no relations of the aristocracy in the House of Commons, the principle of the ballot would have been affirmed by a majority of 19.

On Tuesday, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland assisted at the Inauguration of the New Athenæum at Cork. He has conferred the honour of knighthood on J. Tobin, Esq., the President of the institution.

Lord Charles Manners, whose health had been failing for some time past, died on Friday, at his residence in Sackville-street, in his 74th year. Lord Charles was a general in the army, colonel of the 3rd Light Dragoons, and a K.C.B. He was brother to the Duke of Rutland.

An Administrative Reform meeting was held in Bridge-house Hotel, Southwark, on Thursday; Mr. Apsley Pellatt in the chair. Mr. Lindsay, M.P., Mr. John Vickers, Mr. John Thwaites, and others addressed the gathering. The business done consisted in a resolve to establish a Southwark Administrative Reform Society, in connexion with that in the City of London. A letter from Sir William Molesworth was read at the beginning of the meeting. Sir William regretted that Mr. Disraeli's motion would oblige him to attend in his place; and he added, "I have little doubt, that, if that motion be carried, the necessity of administrative reform will become more apparent." Similar meetings have been held at Rochdale and Merthyr, and petitions to Parliament adopted.

MINISTERS AND THEIR LIBERAL SUPPORTERS.

A meeting of the supporters of the Ministry was held at Lord Palmerston's house on Thursday. There were present two hundred and eight members. The speakers included Mr. Lowe, Mr. Layard, Mr. Bright, Mr. Cobden, Lord Robert Grosvenor, Sir James Graham, Mr. Laing and others. The *Daily News* gives the following details of what took place:—Upon every point of essential moment or importance, with the single exception of the resolution moved by Mr. Disraeli, the widest discrepancy of feelings and sentiments prevailed, and was openly expressed by the leading personages present. The avowed object of the Prime Minister in calling together the various sections of the House which occupy the right hand of the chair was to lay before them the intentions of the Government regarding the impending motion of the opposite leader, which, as it implied a direct censure upon the diplomatic conduct of Ministers in foreign affairs, could not possibly be accepted or acquiesced in by them. Lord Palmerston told his auditors that he addressed them as the head of a united cabinet—a cabinet which claimed their confidence in the continuance of negotiations for peace, and equally their confidence in the zealous prosecution of the war. Should the mediation of Austria fail, he assured them that the army in the East was now in the highest condition, that they had plenty of ammunition and stores of every kind, and that failing to obtain satisfactory terms of peace, we were now in a position, by the strength of our own right arm, to ensure success, and to bring the war to a triumphant termination. Upon this rather overconfident tone a somewhat severe criticism was passed by one of those who are usually regarded as amongst the safest and most docile adherents of the Minister. Lord Robert Grosvenor protested against the assumption as irreligious, that future victories could in any degree be considered as the result of a better

commissariat, superior ordnance, or an improved sanitary condition of our troops. In an assembly of Christian gentlemen he grieved to hear it alleged that the race was to the swift or the battle to the strong. With unwonted gravity Lord Palmerston replied that it was only because he was sure the sentiment was at that moment uppermost in the minds of his notoriously devout hearers, that he had deemed it superfluous to give it expression; and he gently intimated that his own character for orthodoxy might have spared him the necessity of any special confession of faith. Mr. Layard and Mr. Bright, concurring only in their entire distrust of the Government, rated the Premier roundly for the most opposite faults. Mr. Bright, in his most provoking style of peace-making, taunted Ministers with not having agreed to the terms offered by Russia at Vienna, adjured them to consent to the proposals subsequently made by Austria, and demanded categorically to know whether the French Government had not signified its willingness to acquiesce in these last-mentioned propositions. To this interrogatory the Premier naturally gave a contemptuous but good-humoured answer, simply declining to enter in any way into a discussion so obviously indefensible and improper. Mr. Layard's reproaches were less easily dealt with, pointed as they were at past inefficiency, present want of plain and obvious want of future purpose. The member for Aylesbury vied in roughness of speech with the member for Manchester, but he failed to extract from the adroit performer on the political slack-rope, any other recognition than that of graceful and supercilious comprehension of his meaning. Then came Sir James Graham, plausible as Belial, with winning looks and wooing phrases for the old-maiden friends with whom he has newly taken up, and who are horribly afraid of being left to wither on the shelf of peace; and with ponderous declarations addressed to those in power that he was all for maintaining the dignity and honour of the country, and, "upon the whole," for leaving the undivided responsibility upon the shoulders of Her Majesty's present advisers. The only thing clearly to be gathered from the elaborately ambiguous speech of the right honourable baronet was, that he had no intention of voting with Mr. Disraeli. The other speakers on the occasion added but little to the net result, which in a few words may be said to have been a joint-stock confession of the unwillingness of 200 gentlemen of the Lower House to be made use of by Lord Derby as stepping-stones to power; and an admission that upon all other points whatsoever they were amongst themselves utterly disagreed. Lord Palmerston calculated, probably, that he had but to hint that if pushed hard he was ready to resort to a dissolution, to win the suffrages of all who, having given pledges or more valuable considerations in order to obtain their seats at the last general election, were not in a position to repeat those blandishments just at present. The division list sufficiently show to what extent this sort of appeal from a Prime Minister may be considered successful.

Miscellaneous News.

John Beasley, a painter, was on a ladder, painting a house in Piccadilly; he slipped, fell seventy feet, and was impaled on the spikes of the railings in front of the house.

Mr. Forrest, a most active, intelligent, and efficient officer in the Leeds mediceity office, has died of typhus fever brought on by sleeping in a damp bed in Liverpool. Thus, through sheer indolence and criminality, the township has been deprived of the services of a devoted man in the fulness of his vigour.

A large emigration is now going on from the North of Scotland to Canada. In two months no fewer than 5,000 persons have left Aberdeen and other northern ports. Last week one vessel took out 330 emigrants from Aberdeen. The great majority are farm servants, of both sexes, leaving a scanty rate of pay in their native land to earn higher wages in America, with prospective independence in a few years. The encouraging accounts from emigrants of 1853 and 1854 have led to this active migration.

A glaring instance of the niggard pay which the contractors for soldiers' clothing allow their workpeople occurred last week. Elizabeth Gibbs was charged before the Worship-street magistrate with pawning materials intrusted to her. In extenuation, she pleaded her low pay—2½d. for making a pair of trousers! Only three pairs per day can be made. The pawnbroker, moved by compassion, gave up the goods without payment, and Mr. Hammill set free the poor needlewoman. She burst into tears.

Some forty years ago, Owen Williams, of Bodedern, Anglesey, became perfectly blind. He was then a man of middle age, and under this terrible deprivation he continued year after year, until at length his blindness was regarded as confirmed. One day during last Easter, while sitting by the fireside, his sight returned to him. The touching scene and the feelings it produced can be more easily conceived than described. Owen Williams was in his ninety-second year when this remarkable restoration took place after a total blindness of forty years.—*Chester Courant*.

The *Cardiff Guardian* has the following: "On Wednesday last, the 23rd instant, a poor woman, the wife of Patrick Sanders, a dock labourer, living at No. 11, Ellen-street, in this town, gave birth to four children (daughters), the whole of whom are now doing well and likely to live."

Davidson and Gordon, the bankrupts who absconded after committing gigantic frauds, were re-examined at the Guildhall police-office on Thursday. Three new cases were brought against them, in which they had obtained large advances by fraudulent means. Mr. Ballantine, who appeared for the prosecution,

made a serious imputation against Messrs. Overend and Co.—that they had allowed the bankrupts to continue trading after they knew of the frauds upon themselves, by which Davidson and Gordon had an opportunity to cheat another firm. Mr. Chapman, of the firm of Overend, denied this—Overend and Co. had "given their opinion freely" of the accused after the discovery of the fraud. No doubt, this matter will be more fully entered upon on future occasions. The prisoners were again remanded.

The case against Hopper, the young shipwright charged with firing the Etna floating battery, has signally broken down. At the last examination before the Thames police magistrate, on Wednesday, it appeared that no further evidence had been obtained by the prosecution. Mr. Ballantine complained that Hopper had been remanded for new evidence, when there really was none to be got. He then called many witnesses, who clearly made out an alibi. In opposition to the testimony of these witnesses, there was only the belief of John Coullie, who said he saw a man run away from the battery on the night of the fire, and that that man was Hopper. Mr. Yardley considered that he was not warranted in sending the case for trial on such evidence; and he liberated the accused.

A printed circular from eighty or ninety tradesmen in the poorer parts of Lambeth has been sent to us. The tradesmen are chiefly dealers in meat and other kinds of household requirements; some are dealers in shoes and clothing; with a news-vender, a hairdresser, and a few others. These persons address themselves "To our kind customers," whom they ask to relieve them from "unnecessary Sunday trading." By keeping open their shops, they expose themselves to the charge of being irreligious, at the very time that they suffer in conscience as well as health; and their assistants suffer in a greater degree. They petition for rest. "Most classes of society enjoy this happiness; it is granted even to many beasts of burden." They acknowledge that their customers sometimes receive their wages late on Saturday night; but some receive them early; and most, it is calculated, could abstain from coming to the shop after half-past ten o'clock on Sunday morning, if the hour of closing cannot be gradually reduced to nine o'clock. The tradesmen, they argue, cannot close their shops simply at their own pleasure; for they would then offend their weekday as well as Sunday customers, and so lose their very means of livelihood; but they give the names of a greater number of tradesmen who do close their shops on Sunday. The *Spectator*, referring to the circular, says: "The directness, candour, and earnestness of this appeal are affecting; and it can scarcely fail to effect, by mutual consent, a wholesome result, which compulsory acts only attain in an unpleasant manner, if at all."

Literature.

Leaves from a Family Journal. From the French of EMILE SOUVESTRE. London: Groombridge and Son.

WHEN we have stood upon the Champs Elysées in the balmy air of a summer night, dazzled out of our sober John Bullism, by the flaring of a thousand lights, and the glancing gaiety of the butterfly humanity wheeling around them, we have been led to entertain a high opinion of the hilarity, but hardly of the domesticity, of our gallant allies. We have been taught to regard "home" and "comfort" as the peculiar property of the English language—words which could not be translated into any dialect under heaven, and the ideas thereof as utterly unknown to Monsieur, Mein Herr, Don, or Signor. But, English as we are to the backbone, we cannot deny that in these "Leaves from a Family Journal" there has been presented to us by a French author a beautiful picture of a real home. It is one of those books peculiar to modern times, requiring to produce them, not indeed exalted genius, but a true poetical appreciation of the beauty of human life in every God-appointed phase. In these days, prosaic though they are called, there are few intelligent young people rising into life without aspirations, perhaps vague, yet nobler than were ever felt by Homeric heroes; and these, unless rightly directed, often degenerate into mere romance and dreaminess, which, of course, perish amidst cotton, iron, and steam, leaving that miserable deadness of soul to all but practicality, falsely so called, against which a certain mawkishly sentimental school of writers direct their languid nonsense in vain. Amidst all this, books similar to the one before us—and, we will add, especially this individual one—should be welcomed as, in the true sense of the word, a godsend. It satisfies those vague longings after something noble, because it invests the realities of every day—the beautiful affections, the sunny gladness, the trifling cares the wearing difficulties of home-life—with the true greatness which they must possess in the eyes of Him who appointed them.

And the details are fully equal to the purpose in view. Certainly, over all the sayings and doings of the happy couple represented, there is thrown an air of French lightness, which it would not, perhaps, be always easy for John Bull and his wife to realise; but, still, almost everything is true to the essential principles of humanity.

We are not to expect in books of this class anything strikingly novel or profoundly original;

but the natural ease and force with which M. Souvestre brought forth the meaning of the atoms of our lives, the light with which he illuminated the duldest details of every day, are indeed charming. We take a simple instance—presuming that business has gone wrong, cares are heavy, and neither husband nor wife having spring enough to encourage the other, a little coldness and want of confidence ensues. Sitting gloomily together in the garden, they refuse some trifling gratification to the two children:—

"After a complaint, and a few tears, they left us. Fearing that the gravel of the paths would be injured by the winter rains, I had taken it up, and heaped it around the lime trees, and soon I saw Leon and Clara hasten to it with a bunch of faded flowers they had picked up from under one of the windows, and begin to transform the yellow heap into a flower-bed. Their grief was already forgotten. Both, in ecstasies at their work, screamed and clapped their hands for joy. Marcelle raised her head.

"Whatever have they got hold of?" she asked.—"What we lack," I replied; "facility in being happy. Just now, deprived of their wished-for toys, you saw them depart in sorrow; a little sand and a few faded flowers have consoled them." "Happy age!" replied the mother with a sigh. I seized her hand. "Great lesson rather, Marcelle," I said gently; "why have we less wisdom than these little children? If a little dry sand be all that is left us, may we not still make it blossom with the small joys that we now trample under foot."

Of the principles of the book, too, we heartily approve. It rests more on true manliness, that is, godliness, and less on mere sentiment, than it has been our lot to find usually the case in French writers. We cannot help thinking, however, that the intimate relation to everything we do, of a feeling of nearness to God, might have been more prominently set forth. Still it is any thing but one of those sentimental productions which exhibit galvanised virtue executing impossible dances upon nothing, lifeless, soulless, and therefore ridiculous, so common amongst the anti-pious-humbly school of our day. There is in this book a deep feeling of God's nearness to us, which appears whenever the author goes down to the profounder needs of man. The hints again which occur on many matters of family life, but especially on the subject of education, and more, the exhibition of the principles hinted at in action, will be of more real good to people generally than whole cartloads of modern lectures and essays on the subject.

"These educational systems, invented in the closet, and put together piece by piece, are far too complicated machines for general use. Having nothing in common with us, they constitute an artificial life in the midst of our positive existence: and we find ourselves, like the kings of former days, subjects of a written etiquette, which regulates our actions, violates our tastes, and dictates our very words, &c."

Great thanks are due for this book, to the translator, who has preserved, so to speak, a kind of French accent in the style, and yet gives us a true translation into "the Queen's English," which often differs considerably from a translator's. We cannot conclude our notice otherwise than, in the words of the Dedication, "with feelings of melancholy regret that the pen which knew so well how to touch the truths of our common nature is now laid aside for ever."

Hildred, the Daughter. By Mrs. NEWTON CROSLAND. London: G. Routledge and Co.

This book exhibits the usual common-place angels, who go through the usual tricks of heroism, and are finally rewarded with the usual nice cake of health, wealth, and glorification.

If we devote a few more lines to "Hildred," the amiable authoress must not flatter herself that it is because of the importance of her book, for in itself we judge it incapable of doing much harm, and we can imagine weak minds to which it may do good, but the subject of these watery productions in general, which, under the name of religious novels are so rife in our day, does involve considerations of importance.

The faults of this individual book are not so much a want of sympathy with religion, certainly not the absence of a wish to do good; it is full of the usual trite maxims and arguments about "the vanities and frivolities" of the world, the happiness of religion, and the evanescence of "pleasure." What it wants is grasp, fire, and force; and without these, all the amiability in creation won't make a novel worth reading.

What all this milk-and-water class of books wants is a deeper humanity. A lady who derives much comfort from her notions of religion, and has perhaps neither children or chickens to trouble her, or a pious young gentleman with a high forehead, thinks it his mission to write a novel. He knows an amiable and excellent young hearse here, and a young gentleman of most proper behaviour there; an angelic dressmaker in one place, and a heroic joiner in another, and he goes to work to weave them into the meshes of an astounding plot, in dragging them out of which, by main force, is usually exhibited the only trace of power to be found in these books. All the bad is swept to one side; all the good to the other; and then of course one cannot help preferring the latter. If, however, of necessity some complications of the two arise, the knot is cut by some excellent phrase about the deceitfulness of the heart, the corruptness of our motives, and so on. The divine spark

in all men; the strugglings of the worst hearts, at times, after something, they know not what, that is great and noble; the mixture of good in all the evil that clouds our earth, the possibility that all which, in the minds of these amiable authors, comes under the category "worldly," as distinguished from what is actually wrong, may be enlightened, may be raised and ennobled by the devotion of all—the gaiety, the laughter of the young, as well as the reverend wisdom of the aged—to God in loving gratitude;—these thoughts are hardly integral parts of the religious systems of these amiable persons. Not that they would represent religion as an unpleasant thing. Oh dear no! On the contrary, it is blissfully ecstatic. But that which is required by the profoundest wants of our nature, which alone can fill up the mighty aching void, it is their unconscious habit to represent as an unnatural exotic, a foreign intrusion, for which half the man must be turned out to make room.

To do "Hildred" justice, however, it is far from being the worst of its class. Two characters in it, we even faintly admire—Rachel Anderson, and Donald Fraser. The latter is, we think, the best in the book, and we see less of him than of any other, though we wish it to be understood, that there are other reasons for considering him the best. Some, also, of the ideas which the authoress urges, though by no means uncommon, are extremely proper. We approve especially of her desire to read the action of God in every little incident usually attributed to "chance." Still the book is weak, very weak, and dull. Like the rest of its class, seeking to become Divine, it forgets that it must be human to become so, and thus gets to be neither one nor the other, but rather like a pasteboard toy theatre.

The Works of John Owen, D.D.; Vols. 19, 20, and 21.—(Exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews; Vols. 2, 3, and 4.) Edited by Rev. Dr. GOULD. Edinburgh: Johnstone and Hunter.

THE subscribers to the "Standard Library of British Divines" receive, in these volumes, the completion of the first year's issue of the additional works of Dr. Owen, and the first volume of the second year's issue. The remainder of the Expositions on the Hebrews, and the Exposition as far as the fifth chapter of the Epistle, form the contents of these volumes. The editor has added a few notes on the more critical portions of the commentary:—these give such various readings of the Greek text as would modify the meaning; the best translations modern learning has given to particular phrases or passages; and such pieces of interpretation, in brief form, as have the authority of the most eminent and latest expositors, especially where they differ from the view taken by Dr. Owen. These notes are judiciously written, and will be especially serviceable to those whose libraries are limited. We need not speak of the accuracy of the reprint, even to the verification of quotations and references. The publishers have made their Library of Standard Divines everything that the best possible editing and the finest possible typography could make it. Three more volumes will complete this fine edition of Owen's works.

We exceedingly rejoice to see, that on the completion of Owen, Messrs. Johnson and Hunter are to proceed to the publication of a uniform edition of the works of John Howe. They are thoroughly justified in their expectation that this announcement will be hailed with lively satisfaction by the public, and by their subscribers especially. To us, the project is vastly more attractive even than the reproduction of Owen. The intended edition will be prepared with the same care, and issued in the same excellent and elegant form, as the volumes which have already obtained so deserved admiration and repute. The terms are similarly low—marvellously so; and will be yet further reduced if 2,000 copies are subscribed before the work goes to press. But the chief feature of interest in the proposal is, that, not only will there be a perfect reprint of all Howe's hitherto published works, but to these will be added fifty-nine sermons never before published; the genuine and authentic character of which is affirmed on evidence which Mr. Henry Rogers, Dr. Redford, and Dr. Leitch, consider to be valid and conclusive. The verdict of the first of these authorities would alone gain for the new matter the public confidence. The subjects of these discourses are—The Evil of a Worldly Mind (9); The Power of Christ's Traction (10); and Of Justification (40). To these special claims of the proposed new edition, yet another is added, of which every reader of Howe will be glad to hear; namely, the admirable and valuable Life of Howe, by Mr. Rogers (of which the publishers have purchased the copyright), revised and corrected by himself for this edition. We need do no more than name these facts, to commend it to the sympathies and encouragement of our readers. The scheme deserves, and we hope will attain, the very largest and completest success.

An Ordination and Three Missionary Sermons. By the Right Rev. J. W. COLENSO, D.D., Bishop of Natal. Cambridge: Macmillan and Co.

How Christ's Promises are Fulfilled; a Farewell Sermon to the Members of the Natal Mission, preached at Birkenhead, on the 5th March, 1855. By the Rev. HARVEY GOODWIN, M.A., Hulsean Lecturer. Cambridge: Macmillan and Co.

DR. COLENSO, having returned for a brief period to this country, from his Natal diocese, that he might obtain fellow-labourers in the mission to which he has so heartily devoted himself, has also been engaged in seeking funds for the support of the operations it is his design to carry forward. In aid of these funds he has pub-

lished the sermons before us; and Mr. Goodwin, at the bishop's request, adds his own discourse to the little list of works now issued for the benefit of the Natal mission. The sermons of the missionary bishop, besides their special interest, are distinguished by thoughtful earnestness, true simplicity, and deep spiritual feeling. They are fruitful reading for quiet hours. Mr. Harvey Goodwin, too, profoundly felt the position in which he stood, when speaking farewells to the departing bishop and the other members of the mission; and with heart and truth ringing in his words, showed them "that the promises of Christ to those, who in simplicity of heart and in self-sacrifice follow Him, will be abundantly and truly fulfilled in a manner which they at least will comprehend."

Gleanings.

What is the most dangerous ship to embark in?—Author-ship.

M. Michelet is said to be engaged on a work to be called "La Reformation."

At the sale of curiosities, last week, in London, a knife used in playing "Shylock" by the late Edmund Kean was knocked down at 12s.

In the six days ending Friday, May 25, 31,779 visitors were admitted into the Crystal Palace, including season ticket holders.

"It is a very solemn thing to get married," said Aunt Bethany. "Yes; but it's a great deal more solemn not to be," said her niece.

A lady last week had her likeness taken by a photographic artist, and he executed it so well that her husband prefers it to the original.

Mr. Braham, the son of the celebrated English singer, is at present in Paris, where his reception in several of the first salons has been flattering in the extreme.

John Wesley being asked by a nobleman "What is humility?" replied, "My lord, humility, I think, consists in a man thinking the truth about himself."

The *Aberdeen Herald* states that in that part of Scotland upwards of 400 acres, variously situated, have been reserved for the cultivation of flax.

A committee has been formed, funds are in course of collection, and other necessary steps are being taken to ensure the complete abolition of Donnybrook fair.

Near Poughkeepsie, in the State of New York, a huge skeleton of a mastodon has been dug up—another proof of the existence of the animal in the valley of the Hudson in past ages.

It is a Spanish maxim that "He that loseth wealth, loseth much; he who loseth a friend, loseth more; but he who loseth his spirits, loseth all." So keep up your spirits, and a fig for care.

Mr. James Sheridan Knowles has written a foolish pamphlet with the object of proving that "the Gospel attributed to Matthew" was composed by all the apostles together, who employed Matthew as a penman.

A writer of a love-tale, in describing his heroine, says—"Innocence dwells in the rich curls of her dark hair." A critic, commenting on this passage, says: "Sorry to hear it; we think it stands a perilous chance of being combed out."

In Whitehead's "Historian's Pocket Companion," printed in Newcastle in 1777, the first entry is—"Adam and Eve created, Friday, October 23, 4002 B.C." Can this be the origin of the superstition that Friday is an unlucky day for man?

It seems sometimes odd enough to me that while young ladies are so sedulously taught all the accomplishments that a husband disregards, they are never taught the great one he would prize. They are taught to be exhibitors—he wants a companion.—*Goldolphin.*

Adversity exasperates fools, dejects cowards, draws out the faculties of the wise and ingenious, puts the modest to the necessity of trying their skill, awes the opulent, and makes the idle industrious. Much may be said in favour of adversity, but the worst of it is it has no friends.

A sum of 1,000*l.* (being a third instalment) has been paid to the Royal Commissioners by the Committee of the Amateur Artists' Exhibition, at Burlington House, "to be applied exclusively in aid of the widows and orphans of British officers who lose their lives in the present war."

Some time ago, the family of Mr. Stevenson, a fishmonger of Colchester, were alarmed by a great noise in the shop, and suspecting that some persons had broken in, one of them went to the place, when, to his surprise, he found the disturber of his repose not a two-footed but a four-footed thief, namely, a rat who, on trying to help himself to an oyster lying on the shopboard, had his intruding paw so firmly grasped in the shell of the oyster as to render his escape impossible.

Astronomers are to be on the alert during the present year, to decide an important question that has lately arisen with respect to Saturn—namely, the collapsing of its rings. Compared with drawings made 200 years ago, a considerable difference is now perceived, as though the rings were gradually fallen in upon the body of the planet.

The *Boulogne Gazette* says: "There is once more a serious intention of uniting France and England by a submarine railway. The latest project is that of Dr. Payerne, who, with forty sub-aqueous boats (of which he is the inventor), 1,500 sailors and navvies, 4,340,000 cubic yards of material, and 10,000,000*l.* sterling expense, would undertake to construct a tunnel, by means of which the strait that separates the two countries would be crossed in thirty-three minutes. The position of this tunnel would be, no doubt, nearly

parallel with that of the electric telegraph, and contiguous to it, as being the narrowest part of the Channel, as well as that where the depth of water is the least."

The number of political associations in America is as extraordinary as the strange names which they bear. Here are a few of them: Wild Cats, Woolly Heads, Hunkers, Straightout Whigs, Morrill Whigs, Fusion Whigs, Anti-Fusion Whigs, Fusion Democrats, Anti-Morrill Temperance Democrats, Nebraska Wild Cat Democrats, Anti-Nebraska Old line Democrats, Free Soilers, Hook and Ladder Democrats, Dumb Democrats, &c.

The following is taken from a private letter from the seat of war: "Lord Raglan is nicknamed in the Crimea, Jack Rag; Canrobert, Robert Cant, because he cant take Sebastopol; Lord Cardigan, Old Charge-again; Lord Lucan, Old Look on; General Scarlett, Blood and Ours, because of his name and from his being always in the thick of the fight. The Russians are usually called Johnny Raskies; but when they fight with unusual obstinacy, they are called Johnny Rusties."

It may save some young housekeeper the mortification of seeing on her table what are called greens answering better to the name of brown or yellow, when she is assured that a small quantity of common washing soda, added to the usual small portion of common salt, put into the water when boiling, will invariably produce a good colour, and make the vegetable eat tender, either with hard or soft water, though the former is to be preferred. A piece about the size of a nutmeg is sufficient for a good-sized dish, and is very wholesome.

During an interview which Martineff, the Russian comedian and mimic, succeeding in obtaining with Prince Volkonsky, High Steward, the late Emperor Nicholas walked into the room unexpectedly, yet with a design, as was soon made evident. Telling the actor that he had heard of his talents, and should like to see a specimen of them, he bade him mimic the old minister. This feat was performed with so much gusto that the Emperor laughed immoderately; and then, to the great horror of the poor actor, desired to have himself "taken off."—"It is physically impossible," pleaded Martineff.—"Nonsense," said Nicholas, "I insist on its being done." Finding himself on the horns of a dilemma, the mimic took heart of grace, and, with promptitude and presence of mind, buttoned his coat over his breast, expanded his chest, threw up his head, and, assuming the Imperial port to the best of his power, strode across the room and back; then, stopping opposite the Minister, he cried, in the exact tone and manner of the Czar, Volkonsky! pay M. Martineff 1,000 silver roubles." The Emperor, for a moment, was disconcerted; but, recovering himself with a faint smile, he ordered the money to be paid.

BIRTHS.

May 23, at Huntingdon, the wife of the Rev. J. H. MILLARD, B.A., of a son.
May 24, the wife of the Rev. A. JONES, Minister of Buckland Chapel, Portsea, of a son.
May 24, at 25, Tabernacle-walk, Finsbury-square, the wife of Mr. JOHN HADDOX, of a son.

MARRIAGES.

Feb. 1, by the father of the bride, at his residence, Fitzroy-square,bourne, JOHN CHARLES LLOYD, Esq., of 55, Flinders-street, eldest son of JOHN DU PLAN LLOYD, Esq., of Camberwell-grove, to MARGARET BAILINGALL, eldest daughter of the Rev. Dr. CAIRNS.
Feb. 24, by the Rev. T. Odell, at the Independent Chapel, Lonsdale-street, Melbourne, Australia, WM. BAINE, formerly of Leicester, to ELIZABETH, second daughter of Mr. THORNTON, Mowley, Leicestershire.
May 22, at Richmond Chapel, Broughton-road, Salford, Manchester, by the Rev. D. E. Ford, Mr. ALFRED WYATT, to Miss MARTHA CROWTHER, both of Pendlebury, Lancashire.
May 22, at New College Chapel, St. John's-wood, by the Rev. Henry Forster, D.D., of the Crescent, Birmingham, to JOHN SARAH RACESTON, of Chalco Villa, Haverstock-hill, eldest daughter of the late THOMAS ROBERT RACESTON, Esq., of Ivinghoe, Bucks.
May 22, at Enfield, by the Rev. Robert Bruce Kennard, FRANK, son of the late GEORGE WITHERS, Esq., of Liverpool, to FANNY MARIA, fourth daughter of T. CHALLIS, Esq., M.P.
May 23, at the Independent Chapel, North Frodingham, by the Rev. F. W. Cox, of North Weichton, the Rev. JOHN HUTCHIN, of North Frodingham, to MARY ELLEN, only child of the late W. F. WILLIAMS, Esq., surgeon, of the same place, and niece of J. WILLIAMS, Esq., M.D., of Beverley.
May 26, at the Caledonian-road Chapel, by the Rev. Ebenezer Davies, Mr. ROBERT HUMPHREY, engineer, Caledonian-road, to Miss ELIZABETH GARRARD, Portland-place, Marylebone.
May 26, at Becking, Essex, by the Rev. Thomas Craig, EMILY, third daughter of Mr. STEPHEN PIPES, of Ipswich, to Mr. JOHN HOWARD, woollen draper, Lombard-street.
May 26, at Eagle-street Chapel, Holborn, by the Rev. Francis Willis, uncle to the bridegroom, ALEXANDER HINTON WILLS, Esq., of Queen-square, Bloomsbury, to MARY, eldest daughter of WILLIAM JENKINS, Esq., late of Newport, Monmouthshire.

DEATHS.

May 31, at Lower Brook-street, Lieut-General Sir G. C. D'ARVILLE, K.C.B.
May 22, at Higgleswade, of disease of the heart, ROSE, the affectionate daughter of the late Mr. Wm. TWELVEHORN, in the twenty-fourth year of her age.
May 23, in his seventy-first year, JAMES CAMPBELL, Esq., of Howden, Yorkshire, the father-in-law of the Rev. James Bruce, of Bamford, near Rochdale.
May 23, EVAN EDWARDS, the eldest son of the Rev. EVAN DAVIES, of Richmond, Surrey, in the nineteenth year of his age.
May 23, aged twenty-seven, the wife of RAFFLES BROWN, architect.
May 24, at Craythorne House, Tenterden, T. B. SNOEDRICK, Esq., aged sixty-five, Mayor and Justice of the Peace for the borough of Tenterden.
May 25, in Hackville-street, General LORD CHARLES SOMERSET MANSFIELD, K.C.B., aged seventy-four.
May 26, at Briston-hill, after a short but severe affliction from rheumatic fever, in his 22nd year, Mr. JAMES EBERHARD MEAD, youngest son of the Rev. CHARLES MEAD, of Trevanore.
May 26, at the residence of his father, after a long affliction, aged twenty-five years, FREDERICK, second son of Mr. WILLIAM BAINE, Ironmonger, Cheap-side, Leicester.
May 26, in the eighth month of his age, HENRY SNEYTON, son of the Rev. HENRY SNEYTON, of Sheffield.
May 26, at Park-hill, Bowlish, Gloucestershire, Rev. JOSEPH LEWIS, Baptist Minister, formerly of Cheltenham. His sterling integrity of character, and blameless deportment, commanded the respect of all who knew him in the Church and in the world.

Money Market and Commercial Intelligence.

CITY, TUESDAY EVENING.

A general improvement has taken place in all descriptions of stock during the past week, the rise in Consols having been about 2 per Cent. This upward tendency has been mainly occasioned by the favourable Bank returns, the continued influx of gold, the abundance of money, and the news of the occupation of Kertch, and of decided successes over the Russians before Sebastopol, leading to the hope of a successful campaign. To-day prices advanced $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., but the improvement has not been fully supported, the present quotation of Consols being 92 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 92 $\frac{3}{4}$ for Money, and 92 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 92 $\frac{3}{4}$ for the 10th July. Reduced 3 per Cents. are at 91 $\frac{1}{2}$, and the New Three per Cents. have improved to 92. Bank Stock, 209 $\frac{1}{2}$. India Stock, 234 to 236. Ditto Bonds, 19s. Exchequer-bills are quoted at 6s. to 9s. prem., the advertised issue; and 16s. to 19s. prem. for the March issue. The Omnium is rather flatter, and has receded to 4 prem. The money market continues to be very abundantly supplied at easy rates.

The Foreign Market has been more active to-day, and prices in general show a decided improvement. Great firmness has been shown by the Share Market, and a general advance has taken place in all the leading stocks. There has been a tolerable amount of business in Mines at former rates. Banks continue active, without change in the quotations.

The last Bank of England returns show a further increase of 600,000*l.* odd to the stock of bullion, and a further addition to the reserve of notes of more than 860,000*l.*, being an important augmentation to both items of the account.

During the past week the importations of specie were to the extent of about 860,000*l.*, of which 560,000*l.* is from Australia. The exports during the same period were only about 2,000*l.* The Indemnity arrived, on Monday, from Melbourne with 13,663 ounces of gold, valued at 54,600*l.*; and the Atlantic from New York brought 380,000*l.*, making a total receipt of 434,600*l.* during the day.

The accounts of the trade of the manufacturing districts during the past week show an improvement consequent upon the buoyancy of the funds, the more favourable prospects of the harvest, and the belief that the uncertainties of the Vienna Conference will henceforth cease. At Manchester there has been an increased business, although in the prices obtained manufacturers find it impossible to keep pace with the speculative advance at Liverpool, where the cotton transactions of the week have been of an unprecedented extent. As they mostly hold good stocks of the raw material, purchased at rates below those now current, they can, however, afford to wait for a gradual realisation of the full rise. The Birmingham report again describes a tendency to greater steadiness in the iron trade, attributable to diminished production and to the market having by some of the recent failures been partially relieved from the operations of firms who, having no property of their own, were reckless in sacrificing that of their creditors. Notwithstanding the reduction in the number of furnaces at work, the price of coals is maintained with extraordinary firmness, but important measures are in progress to open new fields and to extend the facilities of canal transit. With regard to the recent suspensions, it is stated that the liabilities of Messrs. Davies, of Westborough, are little short of 200,000*l.*, and that their assets do not promise a favourable liquidation. The establishment of Messrs. Toy and Son, of Soho, is again open, the affairs of the firm being carried on under inspection. No fresh stoppages of any importance have been announced, but the distrust already caused continues to be aggravated by false rumours. At Nottingham business has been limited, but, on the whole, a more confident feeling prevails, which is assisted by expectations of an approaching recovery in the markets of Australia and America. In the woollen districts, also, the tone is healthy, and in the Irish linen markets there is a favourable tendency. With respect to the appearance of the grain crops, the statements from the various counties of England are on the whole satisfactory, their good general appearance making up for occasional signs of deficiency on light lands; and from Ireland the reports are especially encouraging.

The departures from the port of London for the Australian colonies during the past week have comprised three vessels—one to New Zealand of 1,018 tons, one to Adelaide of 631 tons, and one to Launceston of 258 tons. Their total capacity was 1,907 tons. The rates of freight exhibit a tendency to improvement.

There has been great activity in the general business of the port of London during the past week, the arrivals being unusually large. The total of ships reported inward was 393, presenting an increase of 185 over the previous week. The number of vessels cleared outward was 135, being an increase of four. In the number of vessels on the berth loading for the Australian colonies there is also an increase, the total being 61. Owing to the present influx of shipping, the docks and quays exhibit considerable animation. Commendable efforts, however, are stated by the merchants to be at all times

observable on the part of Mr. Chapman, the Inspector-General of the Landing Department, to prevent delays, although the limited nature of the staff at his disposal renders this sometimes a matter of difficulty.

The monthly Board of Trade Returns for April have been issued. The following is the total declared value of the exports of British and Irish produce and manufactures during the month and four months, including only the "enumerated" articles:—

	For the month.	For four months.
1855	£7,114,110	£23,838,842
1854	6,831,383	28,182,714
1853	7,678,910	27,970,633

Including the "unenumerated articles" the month's exports for 1855 are raised to 8,085,964*l.*, against 7,765,285*l.* in the corresponding month of last year, and those of the four months to 26,894,481*l.*, against 32,003,493*l.* last year. The real decrease on the four months in the enumerated articles is however estimated at 2,931,050*l.*, and in the grand total of exports, 3,491,819*l.*, compared with last year. The rate of diminution exhibited by these last-named figures is equal to ten per cent. The comparison for the single month, however, is much more favourable, a positive increase being presented over the export figures of the corresponding month of last year. The inference to be drawn from this comparison is, that the export trade is now recovering from depression.

The chief increase on the month is in cotton yarn, linen yarn, machinery, wool, and oils. In articles hitherto taken largely for the Australian markets, such as haberdashery and millinery, hardware and cutlery, and leather manufactures, a considerable falling off is shown. In woollen manufactures and metals the decrease is also rather marked. On the other hand, the important items of cotton and linen manufactures exhibit a satisfactory comparison with last year.

PROGRESS OF THE STOCKS DURING THE WEEK.

	Wed.	Thurs.	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.
3 per Ct. Consols	90 $\frac{1}{2}$	90 $\frac{1}{2}$	91 $\frac{1}{2}$	91 $\frac{1}{2}$	92 $\frac{1}{2}$	92 $\frac{1}{2}$
Consols for Account	90 $\frac{1}{2}$	90 $\frac{1}{2}$	91 $\frac{1}{2}$	91 $\frac{1}{2}$	92 $\frac{1}{2}$	92 $\frac{1}{2}$
3 per Cent. Red.	90 $\frac{1}{2}$	90 $\frac{1}{2}$	91 $\frac{1}{2}$	91 $\frac{1}{2}$	92 $\frac{1}{2}$	92 $\frac{1}{2}$
New 3 per Cent.	90 $\frac{1}{2}$	90 $\frac{1}{2}$	91 $\frac{1}{2}$	91 $\frac{1}{2}$	92 $\frac{1}{2}$	92 $\frac{1}{2}$
Annuities	90 $\frac{1}{2}$	90 $\frac{1}{2}$	91 $\frac{1}{2}$	91 $\frac{1}{2}$	92 $\frac{1}{2}$	92 $\frac{1}{2}$
India Stock	—	232	—	—	—	236
Bank Stock	—	—	209 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	210	209 $\frac{1}{2}$
Exchequer-bills	—	15 pm	12 pm	8 pm	9 pm	—
India Bonds	18 pm	—	—	—	—	10 pm
Long Annuities	15-16 $\frac{1}{2}$	15-16	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	16 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	15-16

Markets.

CORN EXCHANGE, LONDON, Monday, May 28.

We have had large arrivals of foreign wheat during the past week, and although there was a short quantity of English offering for sale this morning the sale was slow at fully 1s per quarter under last Monday's prices; the inquiry for foreign was very limited, and purchases might have been made without difficulty at the same reduction in price. Flour offering upon terms more in favour of the buyer. Barley went off slowly at last week's prices. Beans and peas maintained previous rates. We had a large supply of foreign oats, and the weather being more favourable for the country, the best samples sold fully 6d per quarter and inferior 1s per quarter cheaper than on Monday last. Linseed and cakes unaltered.

BRITISH.		FOREIGN.	
Wheat—	s. d.	Wheat	s. d.
Essex and Kent, Red	75 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	Dantzic	83 to 82
Ditto White	76 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	Konigsberg, Red	75 8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Line, Norfolk, and	—	Pomeranian, Red	76 8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Yorkshire Red	—	Rostock	76 8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Scotch	76 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	Danish and Holstein	72 7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Rye	44 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	East Friesland	70 7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Barley malting (new)	33 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	Petersburg	68 7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Distilling	—	Riga and Archangel	63 6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Malt (pale)	62 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	Polish Odessa	70 7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Beans, Mazagan	42 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	Marianopol	78 8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ticks	—	Taganrog	60 6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Harrow	—	Egyptian	46 5 $\frac{1}{2}$
Pigeon	—	American (U.S.)	74 8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Peas, White	42 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	Barley, Pomeranian	32 3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Grey	38 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	Konigsberg	—
Maple	38 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	Danish	32 3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Boilers	44 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	East Friesland	29 3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Tares (English)	36 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	Egyptian	26 2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Foreign	36 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	Odessa	25 2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Oats (English feed)	26 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	Beans—	
Sack of 280 lbs.	65 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	Horse	38 4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Linseed, English	75 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	Pigeon	42 4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Baltic	64 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	Egyptian	36 3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Black Sea	66 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	Peas, White	42 4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Hempseed	48 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	Oats—	
Canaryseed	46 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	Dutch	23 2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Cloverseed, per cwt. of	—	Jahde	23 2 $\frac{1}{2}$
112 lbs. English	40 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	Danish	22 2 $\frac{1}{2}$
German	44 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	Danish, Yellow feed	26 2 $\frac{1}{2}$
French	44 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	Swedish	26 2 $\frac{1}{2}$
American	44 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	Petersburg	26 2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Linseed Cakes, 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ to	—	Flour, per bar. of 190 lbs.	—
Rape Cake, 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 10s per ton	—	New York	38 4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Hempseed, 42 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 44 $\frac{1}{2}$ to last	—	Spanish, per sack	60 6 $\frac{1}{2}$
		Carrawayseed	32 3 $\frac{1}{2}$

BREAD.—The prices of wheaten bread in the metropolis are from 10d to 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d; of household ditto, 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ d to 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ d per 4 lbs loaf.

BUTCHER'S MEAT, SMITHFIELD, Monday, May 28.

There was rather a large supply of foreign beasts in to-day's market; but the show of foreign sheep was limited. The arrivals of beasts fresh up this morning from our own grazing districts were seasonably extensive, and in excellent condition. As the attendance of buyers was very moderate, the beef trade ruled heavy, at a decline in the quotations obtained on Monday last, of 2d per 8 lbs. A few very superior Scots realised 4s 6d per 8 lbs; but the general top figure for beef was 4s 4d per 8 lbs. From Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire, we received 2,400 Scots and short-horns; from other parts of England, 400 of various breeds; and from Scotland, 700 horned and polled Scots. The show of sheep was tolerably good as to number, but the weight and condition of all breeds were inferior. For all kinds of sheep, we had a very inactive demand. In prices, however, no change took place. Lambs, the supply of which was moderate, and very deficient in quality, sold slowly, at last week's currency. The veal trade was heavy, and the quotations gave way 2d per 8 lbs. The top figure was 5s 2d per 8 lbs. The sale for pigs was in a very sluggish state, at last week's quotations.

Per 8 lbs. to sink the calf.				Per 8 lbs. to sink the calf.			
Inf. coarse	beasts	3	0 to 3 4	Pr. coarse	woolled	4	0 to 4 4
Second quality		3	6 to 3 8	Prime	Southdown	4	8 to 5 0
Prime large	ozen	3	10 to 4 0	Lge. coarse	calves	10	4 to 6
Prime Scots, &c.		4	2 to 4 4	Prime small		4	8 to 5 2
Coarse inf. sheep		3	4 to 3 6	Large hogs		3	0 to 4 0
Second quality		3	8 to 3 10	Neat sm. porkers		4	2 to 4 4

Lambs, 5s 6d to 6s 10d.
Suckling calves, 2s to 2s 6d; Quarter-old store-pigs, 3s to 2s 6d each

NEWGATE AND LEADENHALL, Monday, May 29.

The supplies of each kind of meat on sale in these markets are but moderate, yet the general demand is rather inactive, at our quotations.

Per 8 lbs. by the carcass.		Per 4 lbs. by the carcass.	
Inferior beef . 3s	6d to 3s 2d	Inf. mutton . 3s	2d to 3s 4d
Middling ditto 3s	4d to 3s 8d	Middling ditto 3s	8d to 4s 3d
Prime ditto 3s	10d to 4s 6d	Prime ditto 4s	4d to 4s 8d
Do. small do. 4s	6d to 4s 2d	Veal . . . 3s	8d to 5s 6d
Large pork . 3s	4d to 3s 8d	Small pork . 3s	10d to 4s 4d
Lamb, 5s 6d to 6s 6d.			

PRODUCE MARKET, MINING-LANE, May 29.

The public market has not been open to-day, and but little general business done by private contract.

In SUGAR and COFFEE we are without transactions to report to-day.

TEA.—Common congou remains quoted steady at 8½d per lb. The market generally has been inactive.

SALTPEPER.—A full amount of business has been done, and prices are a shade in favour of the sellers; refraction 7½ sold at 25s; refraction 8½, 25s 3d to 25s 6d; refraction 7 to 7½, 25s 6d to 26s 1d; refraction 10½, 25s 6d.

RICE.—The demand has been very limited.

BAKING.—Scotch pig: the market is rather unsteady, and quoted 7s.

TALLOW is quoted 50s 6d, with rather more steadiness in the market.

COTTON.—Prices are fully supported. 1,000 bales sold to-day.

PROVISIONS, LONDON, Monday, May 29.—There was only a moderate supply of new Irish butter last week. All found buyers. Carlow and Waterford at 100s; Limerick, 95s to 100s; Corks, 3s 6d, 4s 6d, 5s 6d. The next arrivals must be lower, and decline as they increase. Fresh and local supplies were more plentiful and cheaper; foreign, therefore, was not so much sought after. Prices for all kinds declined from 4s to 6s, varying as in quality from 70s to 90s. Bacon: Irish and Hamburg stings were in limited demand, although the weather was favourable to vegetation. Best quality, however, was held for full rates; but stale and secondary kinds were offered at rather less money. For American sides and middles, holders asked an advance of 1s to 2s. In hams and lard no change.

PRICES OF BUTTER, CHEESE, HAMS, &c.

Friesland, per cwt.	96 to 98	Cheshire (new) per cwt.	86 to 90
Kiel	98 to 100	Cheddar	88 to 90
Dorset	102 to 108	Double Gloucester	83 to 87
Carlow	—	Single ditto	86 to 90
Waterford	—	York Hams (new)	78 to 82
Cork (new)	84	Westmoreland ditto	78 to 81
Limerick	—	Irish ditto	66 to 78
Sligo	—	Wiltshire Bacon (dried)	78 to 80
Fresh, per dozen	12 to 14	Irish (green)	70 to 72

POTATOES, BOROUGH AND SPITALFIELDS, Monday, May 29.—Very moderate supplies of potatoes have come to hand from all quarters since Monday last. To-day the show of samples was limited, and the trade ruled tolerably firm, as follows: York Regents, 120s to 160s; Kent and Essex ditto, 120s to 150s; Scotch ditto, 110s to 130s; ditto cups, 100s to 110s; blues, 90s to 110s; Lincolns, 100s to 120s per ton.

HOPS, BOROUGH, Monday, May 29.—We have no material alteration to note in our market since our last report. A good demand has existed during the week, particularly for Sussex growth, the stock of which is now reduced to a very small compass.

SEEDS, LONDON, Monday, May 29.—The trade for clover-seed, &c., presents no noticeable variation. There is some inquiry for parcels to hold for next season; but holders are firm at full prices, and transactions are limited. Canaryseed is steady, and maintains its value. Rapeseed is scarce, and commands high rates.

TALLOW, LONDON, Monday, May 29.—Owing to the late large arrivals, and the consequent increase of stock, this market is flat, and prices have given way about 17½d per ton. To-day there is very little doing, and P.Y.C. on the spot is quoted at 50s 6d to 51s per cwt. For all the year, the quotation is 53s to 55s 6d. Town tallow, 48s 6d net cash; rough fat, 3s 8d.

PARTICULARS.

	1851.	1852.	1853.	1854.	1855.
Stock	Casks 30533	Casks 41834	Casks 24283	Casks 36295	Casks 47826
Price of Yellow Candle	37s 9d	37s 9d	47s 0d	60s 8d	50s 6d
Delivery last Week	723	749	792	961	1656
Ditto from last of June	99648	103071	109041	93027	96371
Arrived last Week	282	569	1240	1211	2804
Ditto from last of June	101554	104371	83795	105027	98303
Price of Tallow	34s 6d	34s 9d	49s 2d	61d	60s 6d

WOOL, CITY, Monday.—The imports of wool into London last week were about 5,000 bales, of which 1,074 were from Van Diemen's Land, 1,263 from Victoria, 930 from the Cape of Good Hope, 908 from Sydney, 307 from Turkey, and the rest from Spain, &c. The first series of sales of colonial wool of the season commenced on the 3rd inst. and concluded on Thursday. We can make a satisfactory report of these sales. The improved condition of the manufacturing districts prevailing since the last sales, and still continuing, exhausted the stocks of colonial wools to a degree unknown of late. From the spirit evinced by buyers on foreign account, who took about 30 per cent of the wool offered, it is evident that continental markets have also enjoyed their share of prosperity. There is a prevailing opinion that the German fair near at hand will go off at advanced prices, which no doubt has its influence. Port Phillip wool (forming a large portion of the entire sale) at the commencement sold at a small advance on last sales, and further improved a little. The supply of new British wool has increased, but the business doing in it is limited. All other kinds—the stocks of which are rather extensive, and which are likely to exercise considerable influence upon the future demand—move off heavily, but we have no change to notice in their value. A few low parcels have changed hands for shipment to the Continent.

	s. d.	s. d.
Down tags	1 0	10 0
Half-bred	1 0	0 0
Ewes, clothing	0 11	1 0
Kent fleeces	1 0	1 1
Combings skins	0 10	1 0
Flannel wool	0 11	1 1
Blanket wool	0 6	0 11

HIDE AND SKIN MARKETS, Saturday, May 26.

Market Hides, 55 to 64 lbs.	0 31 to 0 0	pr lb.
Ditto 64 to 73 lbs.	0 31 to 0 31	"
Ditto 73 to 80 lbs.	0 31 to 0 31	"
Ditto 80 to 84 lbs.	0 31 to 0 31	"
Ditto 84 to 96 lbs.	0 41 to 0 41	"
Ditto 96 to 104 lbs.	0 41 to 0 41	"
Horse Hides	5 6 to 0 0	each
Calf Skins, light	2 0 to 3 0	"
Ditto full	6 0 to 0 0	"
Polled Sheep	0 0 to 0 0	"
Kents and Half Breds	6 0 to 7 0	"
Downs	4 6 to 5 9	"
Lambs	2 2 to 3 0	"
Shearings	0 10 to 0 0	"

METALS, LONDON, May 28.—Scotch pig iron has sold steadily, at 68s 6d to 69s. Hoops are worth 97½d to 101, and nail rod 87½d to 89½d. Zinc is tolerably firm, at 27½ to 28½. There is a good inquiry for tin, Banca 110s to 111s, Straits 105s to 107s. Tin plates are quite as dear as last week. Copper, lead, and steel have sold freely, at full quotations.

COALS, Monday.—Market without alteration from last day. Hetton's, 20s; Eden Main, 19s; Belmont, 18s; Hartlepool, 20s; Hartley's, 18s; Wylam, 16s 6d. Fresh arrivals, 20; left from last market, 23; total, 43.

COTTON, LIVERPOOL, May 29.—The market continues to exhibit an advance in price, and is quite animated. Prices of all descriptions of cotton are ½d per lb. dearer than last week,

and purchases are made with difficulty even at the advance. The sales were 15,000 bales, 2,000 for export and 16,000 on speculation, comprising (in addition to Americans) 1,040 Parnam and Marasham, 6d to 7½d; 200 Egyptian, 6½d; and 4,000 Surat, 5½d to 6½d per lb.

The Gazette.

BANK OF ENGLAND.

(From Friday's Gazette.)

An Account, pursuant to the act 7th and 8th Victoria, c. 32, for the week ending on Saturday, the 19th day of May, 1855.

ISSUE DEPARTMENT.

Notes issued	£29,902,550	Government Debt	£11,015,10
		Other Securities	2,844,90
		Gold Coin & Bullion	15,902,550
		Silver Bullion	—
	£29,902,550		£29,902,550

BANKING DEPARTMENT.

Proprietors' Capital	£14,553,000	Government Securities (including Dead Weight Annuity)	£10,922,122
Reserve	3,170,300	Other Securities	12,455,185
Public Deposits	3,358,272	Notes	10,980,610
Other Deposits	12,330,771	Gold and Silver Coin	745,166
Seven Day and other Bills	961,720		
	£24,304,063		£24,304,063

May 24, 1855.

M. MARSHALL, Chief Cashier.

Friday, May 25, 1855.

BANKRUPT.

POPPERWALL, M. J., Clement's-lane, City, and Gorr, R., New London-street, City, merchants, June 5, July 6; solicitor, Mr. Pollock, New Broad-street.

MARTIN, J., Union-street, Southwark, ironmonger, June 6, July 6; solicitors, Messrs. Hill and Matthews.

ANON, T., Connaught-terrace, Edgware-road, auctioneer, May 30, July 6; solicitor, Mr. Chidley, Gresham-street, City.

RUSSELL, C., High-street, Southwark, baker, June 1 and 28; solicitors, Messrs. Hill, Fenchurch-buildings.

HISCHMANN, H., and Co., Chesapeake, City, merchant, June 7 and 28; solicitors, Messrs. Linklater, Sisco-lane.

BLACKWELL, J., Birmingham, and Yardley, Worcestershire, lamp manufacturers, June 9 and 29; solicitor, Mr. Bartlett, Birmingham.

POWER, J., Wolverhampton, stone mason, June 6, July 9; solicitors, Messrs. E. and H. Wright, Birmingham.

CONLEY, W., son, Tipton, Staffordshire, brickmaker, June 6, July 9; solicitors, Mr. Wilkes, Gloucester; and Mr. Hodgson, Birmingham.

MARSHMAN, C., Birmingham, jeweller, June 6, July 9; solicitor, Mr. Sutton, Birmingham.

DANIEL, J., Torquay, innkeeper, June 9 and 28; solicitor, Mr. Stopford, Exeter.

SLOOGEY, R. T., Devonport, linendraper, June 4, July 9; solicitor, Mr. Stopford, Exeter.

HUGHES, D., Bala, Merionethshire, draper, June 4 and 27; solicitors, Messrs. Sale and Co., Manchester, and Messrs. Evans and Son, Liverpool.

HAWITT, T., Ormakirk, Lancashire, grocer, June 7 and 28; solicitor, Mr. Forshaw, Liverpool.

WILLIAMS, J., St. Asaph, Flintshire, and Llanduno, Carnarvonshire, joiner, June 7 and 28; solicitors, Messrs. Evans and Son, Liverpool, and Messrs. Wyatt and Sisson, St. Asaph.

STAGO, W., Manchester, chemist, June 8 and 29; solicitor, Mr. Slater, Manchester.

ATCHESON, A., Strangeways, near Manchester, wine merchant, June 6 and 27; solicitor, Mr. Slater, Manchester.

JONES, W., Manchester, glass merchant, June 5 and 26; solicitor, Mr. Elliott, Manchester.

HARTON, J., and HARTON, G., Broughton, Lancashire, copper roller makers, June 4 and 25; solicitors, Messrs. Atkinson and Co., Manchester.

WILSON, J., and WILSON, B., Manchester, tailors, June 7 and 28; solicitor, Mr. Andrew, Manchester.

DIVIDENDS.

June 15, G. Smith, Union-street, Southwark, hat and cap manufacturer—June 15, J. Pottenger, Rochester-road, Camden-town, builder—June 19, G. Tidd, Codicote, Hertfordshire, corn dealer—June 19, W. Holloway, Millbank-street, Westminster, saddler—June 19, E. Buehler, Cullum-street, City, merchant—June 15, H. L. Swallow, Park-terrace, Battersea-fields, licensed victualler—June 18, G. Hutchison, Palace-row, New-road, timber merchant—June 19, G. Hartshorne and G. Hartshorne, jun., Great Dover-street, Southwark, ironmongers—June 5, J. H. Godber, F. Godber, and J. W. Howes, Eastwood, Nottinghamshire, drapers—June 5, J. Maples, Nottingham, upholsterer—June 5, J. Hopkinson, Nottingham, grocer—June 14, E. Baker, Newport, Monmouthshire, carrier—June 21, H. Wilson, Old Swindon, Wiltshire, grocer—June 19, J. Holland and E. Warden, Preston, Lancashire, tallow chandlers—June 6, J. Worral, Bolton and Manchester, Lancashire, manufacturer—June 16, B. Steel, Sheffield, Yorkshire, glass dealer—June 16, W. Birks, Sheffield, Yorkshire, brush manufacturer—June 26, J. Taylor, Ovenden, Yorkshire, worsted spinner—June 26, T. Brown, Bradford, Yorkshire, grocer—June 26, H. Swire and J. Lockwood, Shipley, Yorkshire, worsted manufacturers—June 19, H. Shuttlesworth, Saffron Walden, Essex, ironmonger.

PARTNERSHIPS DISSOLVED.

J. J. Pratt and J. Shore, Noble-street, City, general commission agents—J. Lomax, I. Lomax, W. Chambers, and J. Mitchell, Bolton-le-Moors and Manchester, Lancashire, quilt manufacturers—Joseph Eastwood, Joshua Eastwood, E. Eastwood, and Betty Eastwood, Meltham, Yorkshire, cotton spinners—A. Tuckett and A. Pearson, Shirehampton and Sixton, Gloucestershire; Whitchurch, Somersetshire; and Dauncey, Wiltshire, brick manufacturers—P. Clay and R. Gillman, Bucklebury, City, merchants—W. C. Haddon and J. B. Nicklin, Neate-street, Old Kent-road, patent oil and lubricating unguent company—P. Jones and J. D. C. Thomson, Liverpool, produce brokers—E. Green and Mary Green, Queen's-buildings and New-street, Kensington, glass dealer—W. H. Walker and W. B. Myers, Leeds, Yorkshire, plumbers—R. Pearn and W. Sparrow, Manchester and Bury, Lancashire, tailors—J. Cawood and J. Sunter, Litchurch, Derbyshire, improved spring balance manufacturers—H. Atkins and G. Leatham, Nottingham, lace manufacturers—T. Madgeley and J. Stevenson, Great Dover-street, Southwark, tailors—J. Brantford and G. Murray, Bishop Wearmouth, Durham, grocers—H. Bent and W. Cartwright, Oldbury, Worcestershire, coal masters—J. Gerrard and W. Edmunds, Liverpool, painters—R. Skinner and G. Skinner, Canterbury and Maidstone, Kent, drapers—J. Chanter and W. Day, Gloucester-place, Limehouse, and Bow-road, manufacturers of patent articles.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

Adams, G., Edinburgh, boot maker, June 4.
Hood, J., Dunbar, ship carpenter, June 5.
Laird, J., and Ritchie, J., Glasgow, grain merchants, June 6.
Gibb, W., Glasgow, merchant, June 4.
Mair, H., Glasgow, boot merchant, June 11.

DECLARATIONS OF DIVIDENDS.

Howes, G., Mortimer-road, Kingsland, licensed victualler, first div. of 4s., any Wednesday, at Whitmore's, Basinghall-street—Thomas, R., Wadour-street, Oxford-street, tool maker, first div. of 1s. 3½d., any Wednesday, at Whitmore's, Basinghall-street—Baruch, J., High Holborn, oil and colourman, first div. of 2s. 9d., May 21, and three subsequent Thursdays, at Graham's, Coleman-street—Palmer, W., Strand, first div. of 1s. 9d., May 31 and three subsequent Thursdays, at Graham's, Coleman-street—Wilson, W., Newcastle-upon-Tyne, scrivener, fourth div. of 1s. 1d., May 26, and any subsequent Saturday, at Baker's, Newcastle-upon-Tyne—Heselden, B., Barton-upon-Humber, Lincolnshire, scrivener, first div. of 1s. 6d., May 29, and any subsequent Tuesday, at Carrick's, Hull.

Tuesday, May 29, 1855.

BANKRUPT.

STEEDER, G. S., Lancalet-place, Knightsbridge, builder, June 8, July 13; solicitors, Messrs. Richardson and Wansley, Moorgate-street, City.

COX, H., Reading, Berkshire, grocer, June 7, July 12; solicitors, Messrs. Howard and Dollman, Fenchurch-street.

DOUGLAS, J., Summer-terrace, Brompton, apothecary, June 13, July 16; solicitors, Messrs. Marden and Pritchard, Newgate-street, City.

MARSHMAN, C., Birmingham, wholesale jeweller, June 6, July 9; solicitors, Mr. Sutton, Birmingham; and Mr. Hodgson, Birmingham.

ROTHWELL, W., Lichfield, Staffordshire, coach builder, June 11, July 4; solicitors, Messrs. Mottam and Knight, Birmingham.

JONES, P., Worcester, commission agent, June 8, July 7; solicitor, Mr. Bartlett, Birmingham.

M'CARTHY, J., Aston, near Birmingham, publican, June 13, July 4; solicitor, Mr. Hodgson, Birmingham.

WARREN, S., Gloucester, licensed victualler, June 12, July 10; solicitor, Mr. Smallbridge, Gloucester.

HARRIS, T., Exeter, furrier, June 8, July 5; solicitors, Messrs. Reed and Co., Friday-street, City; and Mr. Stopford, Exeter.

CHRISTIE, J., Accrington, Lancashire, ironfounder, June 13, July 6; solicitor, Mr. Slater, Manchester.

BARTON, J., and BARTON, G., Broughton, Lancashire, copper roller manufacturers, June 11, July 11; solicitors, Messrs. Atkinson and Co., Manchester.

GARGOY, B., Sheffield, builder, June 9 and 30; solicitor, Mr. Fennell, Sheffield.

DIVIDENDS.

June 21, E. J. Coates and J. Hillard, Bread-street, City, Manchester, Liverpool, Leicester, and New York, merchants—June 21, D. Nutt, Stratford-green, Essex, merchant—June 19, T. Shenton, Bethnal-green-road, grocer—June 21, J. B. Millington, Marlborough-place, Harrow-road, builder—June 22, T. Selby and S. Norton, Town Malling, Kent, scriveners—June 22, W. Pickering, Piccadilly, bookseller—June 22, W. J. Rees, Beaumont-buildings, Strand, coal merchant—June 22, R. Kirkaldy, Fenchurch, City, stationer—June 22, M. Jacobs, Steward-street, Spitalfields, warehousemen—June 21, G. W. Gilbert, Waterloo-street, Hammersmith, licensed victualler—June 22, W. Wilkins, Aylesbury-street, Clerkenwell, licensed victualler—June 22, G. Hall, Brighton, upholsterer—June 21, H. Fowler, Southampton, coal factor—June 22, S. Randall, Wellington, N. Hampshire, ships, shoe manufacturer—June 23, H. J. L. Winton (separate estate), Birmingham, agricultural implement maker—June 23, E. W. Winton (separate estate), Birmingham, agricultural implement maker—June 23, J. Ellis, Birmingham, fender manufacturer—June 20, J. Frater, Manchester, brewer—June 27, H. Cross, Bridlington, Yorkshire, chemist—June 19, W. French, Hedlington, Durham, brewer—June 20, A. Reeves, (separate estate), Taunton, scrivener—June 20, W. D. Francis, Bridgewater, Somersetshire, plumber—June 20, J. G. Fitz, Exeter, bookseller—June 20, H. Talbot and H. P. Talbot, Sidmouth, Devonshire, druggists—June 20, T. Mellor and S. Eason, Liverpool, merchants—June 20, S. Eason (separate estate), Liverpool, merchant.

PARTNERSHIPS DISSOLVED.

G. R. Macnally, sen., G. R. Macnally, jun., and P. Whitechurch, Park-street, Camden-town, plumber—G. Deakin and P. Reaney, Sheffield, cutlery manufacturers—J. W. J. Reford and G. Sloan, Belfast, logwood grinders—W. T. Wharton and C. S. Laycock, Sheffield, steel and file manufacturers—R. Wilshaw and S. Newton, Birmingham, electro-platers—W. H. O. Shephard and J. G. Shephard, Shoemaker-row, Doctors'-commons, stationers—G. Norton and J. Brookley, Heckmondwike, Yorkshire, bricklayers—T. D. Clare and J. Hickman, Bilsworth, Northamptonshire, iron ore masters—R. Coleman and J. Beck, St. Leonard-on-Sea, Sussex, grocers—H. Crane and C. H. Crane, Wolverhampton, Staffordshire, ironfounders—A. G. Pouley and T. Warwick, Rotherhithe, guano merchants—D. Mackochin and J. W. J. Oswald, West Hartlepool, Durham, surgeons—H. Shaw, G. Chadderton, and C. Berry, Oldham, Lancashire, cotton spinners—W. Allen and E. Hughes, Liverpool, millwrights—J. Parker and W. Griffiths, coach builders—J. G. Heyman, and H. Pether, Barnstable, newspaper proprietors—G. Draper and C. Pietroni, London-wall, City, merchants.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

Forrester, J., and Milwain, R., Glasgow, plasterer, June 9.
Macdonell, A., Keppoch, Kilmonivag, June 8.
Riddell, W., Glasgow, carrier, June 11.
Douglas, D., and Baird, J., Edinburgh and Braiford, grocers, June 8.

DECLARATIONS OF DIVIDENDS.

Scott, J., Trinity-square, Tower-hill, ship chandler, first div. of 6s., May 29, and any subsequent Tuesday, at Nicholson's, Basinghall-street—Harben, C. H., Gonistone-street, Whitechapel, and Carlton-hill-villas, Holloway, wholesale cheesemonger, first div. of 8s., May 29, and any subsequent Tuesday, at Nicholson's, Basinghall-street—Bavin, J., Wisbeach, Cambridgeshire, draper, third div. of 1d., May 22, or any Tuesday, at Pennell's, Guildhall-chambers—Merrick, J. T., Hereford-road, Westbourne-grove, builder, first div. of 10d., May 22, and any subsequent Tuesday, at Pennell's, Guildhall-chambers—Kelly, C., High-street, Kensington, Baker-street Bazaar, Portman-square, auctioneer, first div. of 2s. 2d., May 22, and any subsequent Tuesday, at Pennell's, Guildhall-chambers—Griffith and Pearson, New Bond-street, tailors, fifth div. of 2d., May 22, and any subsequent Tuesday, at Pennell's, Guildhall-chambers—Phillips, G. J., Cannon-street, West, City, hostler, first div. of 2s. 6d., May 22, and any subsequent Tuesday, at Pennell's, Guildhall-chambers—Kemp, E., Beckford-place, Walworth-road, lunedraper, first div. of 8s., May 22, and any subsequent Tuesday, at Pennell's, Guildhall-chambers—Jacob, C., Ingram-court, Fenchurch-street, merchant, second div. of 8d., May 22, and any subsequent Tuesday, at Pennell's, Guildhall-chambers—Gray, L., Bishop's Waltham, and Southampton, corn merchant, first div. of 2s., May 22, and any subsequent Tuesday, at Pennell's, Guildhall-chambers—Martyn, H., Bishopgate-street Without, woolen warehouseman, first div. of 1s. 6d., May 22, and any subsequent Tuesday, at Pennell's, Guildhall-chambers—Lambert, W. T., Jermyn-street, St. James's, patent medicine vendor, first div. of 2s. 6d., May 22, and any subsequent Tuesday, at Pennell's, Guildhall-chambers—Dunkley, W., Daventry, Northamptonshire, grocer, first div. of 6s., May 22, and any subsequent Tuesday, at Pennell's, Guildhall-chambers—Summersell, J., Little York-place, Marylebone, carpenter, first div. of 1s. 8d., May 22, and any subsequent Tuesday, at Pennell's, Guildhall-chambers—Bush, Ferguson, and Co., Fenchurch-street, merchants, fourth div. of 4d., May 22, and any subsequent Tuesday, at Pennell's, Guildhall-chambers—Graham, W., Portsmouth, Hampshire, baker, first div. of 6d., May 22, and any subsequent Tuesday, at Pennell's, Guildhall-chambers—Forrer, A., Regent-street, jeweller, first div. of 9s., May 28, and any subsequent Monday, at Cannon's, Aldermanbury—Foster, W., Bridge-wharf, Millbank, Westminster, stone merchant, first div. of 1s. 6d., May 28, and any subsequent Monday, at Cannon's, Aldermanbury—Medley, G. B., Highbury park North, 1 King's, Great Tower-street, City, and Lloyd's Colchester-on-Sea, underwriter, second div. of 1s. 6d., May 28, and any subsequent Monday, at Cannon's, Aldermanbury—Ferguson, W., (separate estate), Brighton and Shoreham, Sussex, grocer, first div. of 1s. May 28, and any subsequent Monday, at Cannon's, Aldermanbury—Trautman, J., (separate estate), Brighton and Shoreham, Sussex, grocer, first div. of 2s. 11½d., May 28, and any subsequent Monday, at Cannon's, Aldermanbury—Waltham, W., Holme Mill, Westmoreland, flax merchant, first div. of 1s. 6d., May 29, and any subsequent Tuesday, at Hermann's, Manchester—Dumble, J., Sunderland, commission agent, first div. of 1s., May 29, and any subsequent Saturday, at Baker's, Newcastle-upon-Tyne—Nicholas, J. J., Newport, Monmouthshire, timber merchant, a final div. of 1s. 2d.,

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